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JPRS 81079

18 June 1982

# Sub-Saharan Africa Report

No. 2642

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18 June 1982

## SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA REPORT

No. 2642

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U.S. ADVISED TO SOLVE ITS OWN PROBLEMS

Luanda JORNAL DE ANGOLA in Portuguese 7 May 82 p 3

[Editorial by Ramiro Aleixo]

[Text] The Angolan people and the People's Republic of Angola are advancing irreversibly toward their seventh year of independence in the direction of the objectives they have proposed to achieve. They are doing so despite the sacrifices, which are greater today as a result of international imperialism's increased aggressiveness in southern Africa in response to the pressure being placed on it by the progressive advance of the struggle by the forces for national liberation. This explains why imperialism's last gasps, as reflected in the murderous actions carried out in the southern part of the country and the redoubling of its support for the puppets, merely indicate the desperation of someone who feels hemmed in on almost all sides. And to deceive its opponents, it is obstinately firing its last cartridges like someone whose belt is still full of ammunition.

The old proverb says that "there is an end to everything that happens." In other words, the difficult moments we are experiencing today will in the future be transformed into secure foundations where every architect of the new society will have a place of happiness and of social and material well-being.

Did Ronald Reagan's predecessors ever believe that with the support it was receiving from NATO and the U.S. command--and very particularly the CIA--Portugal would change course under pressure from the struggle which was unleashed by the revolutionary vanguards of the Portuguese-speaking African peoples and which culminated in the coup of 25 April [1974], thus putting an end to Portugal's history as a colonizer in Africa? Kennedy, Nixon, Gerald Ford, and Carter--each in a different way but all working toward the same objective--combated the right of the peoples to freedom and sovereignty. But as the lesson of history proves, the successes by the peoples struggling for their just cause have not stopped. On the contrary, they have reached levels that have shaken the foundations shoring up imperialism.

Namibia's case is quite different from the process that culminated in the proclaiming of the Republic of Zimbabwe--in particular because Namibia represents the remains of British colonization, which, manipulated from the rear by the multinationals and on orders from its masters, annexed that territory to South

Africa and now subjects its people to the most cruel discrimination and to repressive methods comparable only to those used by the Nazis in World War II. But the truth is that the will of a determined people struggling with weapons against its oppressors will again be recorded in this part of our continent as well.

With the United States at its head, imperialism is well aware that the defeat of the South African regime and its withdrawal from the illegally occupied territory of Namibia, with the consequent establishment of a black majority government in South Africa, will mean an acceleration of its fall into the abyss. That is an abyss from which it will not be able to escape, and it will bring about a drastic change in relations between the so-called developed and underdeveloped countries--a condition that has been another support for the indiscriminate plunder of Africa's natural resources. Such conditions allow technology in the above-mentioned Western powers to advance while increasing the poverty of those who supply the raw materials and then buy them back in processed form.

We were not surprised, therefore, that this time the U.S. Senate pulled a cowboy out of its stock of stooges to occupy the White House. That cowboy, carrying out the established orders, presented himself from the start as the famous actor who cleans up the town (meaning the world) infested with bandits (meaning "terrorists," as freedom fighters are called). And even less were we surprised that he immediately chose to increase the support that was already being given to the puppet groups and the racist South African regime so as to create a climate of destabilization in southern Africa. This is being done to divert the attention of the region's independent countries and restrict action by the Namibian people's vanguard fighters as well as hamper the support they receive.

The arms race and the economic boycott of states committed to the perfect organization of their people are the other face of U.S. imperialism. Once again, those adventures will fail, and Reagan and his henchmen will be reduced to contemplating the successes of history.

And that will sum up the adventure of one more man spending the night in the White House in the thought that his two holsters are bound to change the course of history--a history forever full of new and rich examples and one that will record Reagan's progress in the steps of all those who preceded him and harped on the same string.

Hence our conviction as well that Cunene will never be a buffer zone, because it is an integral part of the free and sovereign territory of the People's Republic of Angola. Namibia will be independent, even if Reagan and the Pretoria racists do not like it, because from Algeria to Zimbabwe, imperialism can find many serious examples of the results of the obstinacy shown by those who occupied, colonized, or neocolonized. Those examples make it clear that "a people's will to free itself of the oppressor's yoke is like the wind, which cannot be stopped with one's hands." Ronald Reagan must also deal with the struggle by his own people, who are waiting for fulfillment of the innumerable commitments he made during his election campaign.

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CSO: 4742/306

DOS SANTOS PROMISES DISMISSAL OF INEFFECTIVE OFFICIALS

Luanda JORNAL DE ANGOLA in Portuguese 2 May 82 p 3

[Speech by President Jose Eduardo dos Santos in Luanda on 1 May 1982]

[Excerpts] During the rally held yesterday in 1 May Square, comrade President Jose Eduardo dos Santos delivered the following extemporaneous speech to the lively applause of the thousands of workers present there.

Comrade leaders of the party and government,

Comrade officials,

Dear guests,

Comrade workers,

Our working class--the Angolan working class--has recorded another great victory today. This year's events commemorating 1 May exceeded all expectations and attained unprecedented scope.

You know that this 1 May is being celebrated at a particularly difficult moment in the international situation. The international economic situation is not favorable to the underdeveloped countries. You know that the underdeveloped and developing countries, even those that produce petroleum, are experiencing serious difficulties today.

Through last December alone, the price of petroleum had dropped by about \$8. There have been attempts internationally, especially by the group of petroleum producing countries, to guarantee price stability. It has not been an easy struggle, and in our own case, we have also experienced a drop in the price of other important raw materials for export: coffee, for example, and even diamonds. Petroleum producing countries--large petroleum producers in Africa--have had to reduce their imports and even, in some cases, suspend a number of projects. It is clear that the economic situation, which is unfavorable to the underdeveloped countries and especially the African countries, is having negative effects on the life of our people as well.



Today we are also experiencing a difficult economic situation. This is partly because of those factors related to the current economic situation, which are beyond our control, and partly because we must confront the criminal actions of the South African racists, who are continuing to promote an undeclared war against the People's Republic of Angola. Part of our territory in Cunene Province is still occupied, and at this very moment new aggressive plans are being orchestrated by imperialism and especially racist South Africa to unleash new and large-scale aggression against our country.

It is in these circumstances that we are celebrating 1 May. It is in this difficult situation that we are being called on to respond to all the criminal action being organized here in southern Africa by imperialism and its agents.

Comrades, we can resist all those onslaughts if we are properly organized. And today our working class has given proof of its awareness, its political maturity, and its capacity for organization. And we are absolutely convinced that our working class, in alliance with the peasants and all the sectors fighting to meet our people's deepest aspirations and under the leadership of the MPLA, will make the necessary response to all the internal and external enemies that persist in opposing our objectives.

Some of the results we have achieved are already enabling us to save a little foreign exchange. And here I am thinking of the effort put forth by the workers at the port of Luanda, who have been working since 1980 within the framework of a program to clear the congestion in the port of Luanda. That program has been completed in part, and today we can see with satisfaction that our port of Luanda no longer has the number of ships it had in 1981.

It was not easy to achieve that objective. Several times we had to replace management cadres in that unit, and naturally, as circumstances require it, we will have to continue making changes and replacing cadres until we find the people who in fact are able to implement our party's decisions.

But comrades, that is only one example among others that we could mention. And I feel that such examples must be imitated by the entire working class and all Angolan workers.

Luanda Province is experiencing a serious situation in the matter of food supplies. Here on the outskirts of Luanda we have arable land, and we even have structures that can be reactivated to minimize the major difficulties with food products that are being experienced by our people today.

There is the problem of water, which seems to be the main difficulty, but that, too, is not a difficult problem to solve. It is not a difficult problem to solve; it is a problem that can be solved in the near future--that is, in 3 or 4 months. And let us commit ourselves to it, comrades, because that way we will not only contribute to carrying out the word of command--"Economic Organization and People's Vigilance"--but also and especially, we will contribute to the solution of a basic problem of the working masses.

Dear comrades,

I do not mean to say that we have not had failures. In fact, you know that our coffee production was lower last year than the year before. We had a National Committee for Support of the Coffee Harvest, and yet we were unable to solve the pressing problems of the coffee workers. We were not able to create the conditions for insuring a rapid increase in production. On the contrary, production declined, and so we were prevented from obtaining more foreign exchange--more earnings that would permit us to import essential goods needed by our people and also to save foreign exchange for investment. Our party's leadership analyzed that situation thoroughly and made some decisions. And one of them--the most important--was to establish the post of deputy minister, whose main job will be to dynamize coffee production. So we will soon appoint one more deputy minister in the field of agriculture to be in charge of coffee.

We feel that such a measure may overcome a certain lack of dynamism that we have noted in that sector. But that was not the only thing. You know that territorial coffee enterprises have been established and that they constitute a large state coffee sector. Our party also decided that that state coffee sector--that is, all the territorial enterprises--should be overseen directly by a few members of our party's Central Committee. We feel that in this way, we will be able to put forth more effort to guarantee better coffee production.

In another connection, we are in a phase of generalized offensive against liberalism and disorganization. We have visited a few sectors of activity. Some time ago, we visited the facilities of the Ministry of Home Trade. You have already learned through the mass media about the problems we found in that sector. I know there has been great concern by the people, and we have even noted some severe criticism, because all in all, the organization of that sector has not progressed as fast as we intended.

Well, comrades, we have been replacing officials in that sector since our independence. It is a difficult sector. Our production is low, and the foreign exchange available to us for importing products is also in short supply. And naturally, any leader in that sector has difficulties. But despite the difficulties, it seems to me that more dynamism and greater organization can be demanded so that we can actually distribute the few products we have in a more correct and rational manner, thus fulfilling the directive from our special congress to give priority to the distribution of essential items to those who actually work.

All those criticisms have been justified. We have noted them. It is a concern that we have and, naturally, we will take the appropriate steps very shortly. We will have to continue changing people until we find the right ones.

Good, you have supported this. Our duty is to correct situations that are wrong, and to do that we have been taking a few steps that do not please certain people. We have been taking disciplinary steps that many of our comrades and compatriots regard as very stiff measures.

But we cannot carry out a socialist revolution if we do not pay attention to discipline--if we do not create the conditions for insuring that people comply with the party's directives and the laws approved by the People's Assembly.

Because of that, comrades, I can tell you on this 1 May that in order to defend our revolution, we need to delve deeply into its democratic and people's character. In other words, we must always be guided by the people's will. President Agostinho Neto used to say that we needed a genuine people's government. It is with that in view that we will have to continue making changes so as to strengthen the close alliance that must necessarily exist between the party and the masses--between the government and the people. Our government is a government of the people; it was established to serve the people's masses, and the members of the government cannot deviate from that line.

Comrades, I know that the people and the people's masses support the party. I also know that the people's masses criticize, and rightly, a few errors that are committed by members of the party or even by party leaders or officials.

Dear comrades,

I must say that such criticism is necessary. That criticism is necessary because it helps us to correct errors. For that very reason, we feel that we must improve our party organization and our rank-and-file structures even further, because within those structures we will be able to familiarize ourselves more and more with the yearnings of the working masses. We also need to improve even further the structures of state power. We have the deputies who were elected by the working masses. If those deputies are really working to convey the concerns and yearnings of our workers to the provincial people's assemblies and the People's Assembly, I am certain that in the sessions of the People's Assembly and of the provincial people's assemblies, we will discuss the problems frankly and openly and find the solutions that are within our reach--all of them.

This 1 May has indeed been very "red," as the comrades from our central union said at the beginning. And we must be ambitious. We must work to make this day increasingly grand. And that is the hope that I leave with the comrades in our central union and all the workers--that May 1983 will be even more red.

The struggle continues.

Victory is certain.

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CSO: 4742/306

## PROBLEMS IN EMIGRATION OFFICE AFFECT OPERATIONS

Luanda JORNAL DE ANGOLA in Portuguese 4 May 82 p 1

[Text] (ANGOP)--As part of the Offensive Against Liberalism and Disorganization, a group from that body's general staff, headed by Henrique Santos (Onambuwe), MPLA-Labor Party secretary for government and legal affairs, and Afonso Van-Dunem (Mbinda), party secretary for foreign relations, visited the National Directorate of Emigration and Frontiers (DEFA) on Friday morning.

That national directorate, which is currently in a restructuring phase, is struggling with the problem of its facilities, which are unsuited to the operation of its structures and hinder prospects for the development and effectiveness of its departments.

According to explanations provided to the offensive's members by DEFA officials, the restructuring phase being carried out by the directorate is aimed at imparting more dynamism and a degree of organization to its various sectors, since so far its operations have been chaotic. An important element in its restructuring is establishment of the Emigration Police, who will act as inspectors at the checkpoints at the ports and airports and on land routes.

According to its assistant director, the deficient operation of the National Directorate of Emigration and Frontiers arises mainly from its technical departments, the shortage of qualified personnel, and the lack of political and ideological training among its cadres.

The chaos and disorganization noted in DEFA are obviously reflected in failure to solve many problems, particularly those related to enforcement of bans on leaving the country, problems of nationality, and the control of returning compatriots.

Also noted are various problems of a social nature that have affected the workers in that national directorate, namely the matter of transportation for those who work shifts at the ports and airports.

Getting back to the problems that exist concerning bans on leaving the country and the granting of visas, Capt Francisco Xavier, the assistant director, said that that situation was due in large part to the obstinacy and negligence of the ministries. This concerns in particular the lack of biographical data on

individuals, since the organizations in question do not send such information to the National Directorate of Emigration and Frontiers.

The ineffectiveness and disorganization noted in connection with bans on leaving the country are also due principally to the fact that DEFA accepts complaints from any organization and to the lack of specific regulations to clear up the situation.

Concerning the work done by the directorate's party structure, which consists of two cells, it has been deficient chiefly because a number of workers linked to the party structure have left the service, according to the assistant coordinator.

In concluding their visit to the directorate, the members of the offensive's general staff visited its facilities, specifically the planning and control section, the records office, the reception office for files on nationals and foreigners, the passport section, the section for the control of foreigners, and the warehouse where items confiscated at the airports are stored.

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LIBERALIZATION OF EXIT REGULATIONS PROMISED

Luanda JORNAL DE ANGOLA in Portuguese 28 Apr 82 p 2

[Text] The Committee on Constitutional and Legal Affairs of the People's Assembly met the day before yesterday under the leadership of its coordinator, Henrique Santos (Onambwe).

During the meeting, which was attended by most of the committee's members and collaborators, reports were prepared concerning a draft resolution governing the rendering of accounts by deputies, and analysis continued concerning the draft law on disciplinary regulations for appointed workers.

Because of the complexity of the latter topic, the committee decided to continue studying it and, for that purpose, appointed another committee to be responsible for drawing up a document summarizing the work done by the groups. That document will then be presented at the next meeting by that body of the People's Assembly.

Rumor Denied

In another connection, the Committee on Constitutional and Legal Affairs, having learned that a number of rumors are circulating around the country concerning the imminent publication of a law aimed at the adoption of measures restricting Angolan citizens from going abroad--with some of those rumors even spreading the absurdity that such exits will be possible only every 10 years--issued a communique denying that kind of slander against the Angolan Government.

The communique explains that there are currently no plans to revise exit regulations for Angolan citizens going abroad, and it regards any contrary information as false. The Angolan Government is concerned to undertake a revision of the current regulations in the near future, but that revision is intended to liberalize the rules rather than make them more restrictive.

The document emphasizes that the source of those slanderous reports is to be found in the intentional distortion by internal reactionary forces of certain statements made by a few deputies at the last session of the People's Assembly during the discussion of problems relative to the Nationalization Law.

The communique concludes by saying that the use of that kind of slander is part of a broad destabilization campaign organized by the most reactionary international circles, whose objective is to encourage the flight of national cadres.

LACK OF FITTING AUSTERITY MEASURES LAMENTED

Luanda JORNAL DE ANGOLA in Portuguese 8 May 82 p 2

[Commentary by Ocirema: "Austerity Now"]

[Text] Yesterday in this column we raised the question of transportation, an issue that touches us and is touching. It touches those who "privatize" and others as well.

A while ago I was told by a Vietnamese friend whom I admire and respect: "Over there in Vietnam, austerity will not allow us to give vehicles to everyone. The government has vehicles from ministers on up. Below that, everyone travels by public transport and bicycles, motorbikes or the back of a water buffalo."

On hearing this from my Vietnamese friend, I fell to pondering and muttering to myself: "Boy, when Uncle Ho's people talk about austerity they aren't kidding." In fact, it is only because of that very austerity that Giap's countrymen were victorious at Dien Bien Phu. To win that brutal war, they were so austere that to save on weapons they went in search of cannons, piece by piece, on enemy territory. They defeated the French, threw out the Yankee imperialists and their group of servants and united that age-old country of Ho Chi Minh. Clearly, however, we are talking about Vietnamese austerity.

We here are also in a period of austerity. The reasons for austerity have been sufficiently explained by the nation's highest leaders, particularly by Comrade President Jose Eduardo dos Santos. Nonetheless, many people think that our economic situation is not all that critical and that austerity is something primarily for others to practice.

This brings us back to the question of transport vehicles and their irrational distribution, which we spoke about yesterday. It has reached the point where the struggle to become chief of this or that department has nothing to do with the desire to perform the tasks inherent to the position better or more competently; it is a struggle to obtain a "private government vehicle" for "outings and little trips." If the vehicle has mechanical problems, if it smashes into a wall, this is no problem; tomorrow there will be another vehicle and the government will pay for it. The situation is so generalized and has so infected some people's thinking that we are importing more light vehicles than public transport vehicles--"machimbos," as we call them in this country. We have seen this happen over the years, and the light family vehicles are coming from far away: Braziliacs, Gurgels, Ladas and Alfettas, and

recently Fiats have been riding the crest of the wave. Other people prefer more opulant cars: the Volvos. Today it would be no exaggeration to say that three out of every five vehicles driven in Luanda belong to the state. It might even be a good thing for the transport agencies to take a census in this regard.

If we pass by the parking lots of ministries and state agencies at night, on Sundays and holidays, we do not see a single government vehicle parked there, as required by law. Certainly, in the beginning, the use and abuse of state property was not so blatant. There was even a certain timidity, fear and respect for government property. Some ministers even issued circulars naming one or another individual who had misused vehicles. Now it is apparent that the government has let go the reins, even in this time of austerity. Everyone "privatizes" the car assigned to him, making it his personal property to serve his own interest. The interests of production, the collective interest can take a walk.

Obviously it is hard to do as they do in Vietnam. We are not Vietnamese; we are not as poor as that. We did not have a Dien Bien Phu; we do not have the Chinese attacking us.

On the other hand, it is not a bad idea to think a little bit about Vietnamese austerity. We are Angolans, but we are only potentially rich. We have petroleum and diamonds, but they don't pay for everything. We did not have Dien Bien Phu, but we had Kifangondo, Ebo and Calama. We do not have the Chinese at our backs, but we have the South Africans occupying part of Cunene Province and preparing for a new invasion. So it is not a bad idea to think about Vietnamese austerity. For one thing, austerity does not mean wasting what little there is and then saying: "Well, now we will practice austerity because we have already ruined and used up everything we had."

We must tighten our belts, but it seems to me that no one wants to reach the extreme of eating them.

6362  
CSO: 4742/305



# TRANSPORTATION PROBLEMS AFFECT NEWSPAPER CIRCULATION

Luanda JORNAL DE ANGOLA in Portuguese 7 May 82 p 2

[Commentary by Ocirema: "We Hit the Street Every Day"]

[Text] Yesterday, as almost always, our newspaper, the only newspaper in the People's Republic of Angola, did not have a single truck at its disposal--not one. The critical situation faced by our newspaper with regard to equipment in general and transportation in particular would not be so critical if, in fact, as we said above, ours were not the only newspaper in the People's Republic of Angola. Thus, if we consider that the JORNAL, or rather, the MDM are of vital importance as organs of information, education and mobilization of all the people to carry out the tasks defined by the party, it is grim to arrive at this harsh reality and say that we do not have the transport means to handle our daily agenda.

We are, in fact, the only newspaper, and we put out an edition every day, even though we do not have a printing press in shape, we lack transportation, we lack good facilities and working conditions, we lack trained journalists, we lack these and everything else that is essential--the bare essentials--for the normal operation of a newspaper. We put out an edition every day and, perhaps for this very reason, we are not given due recognition, or we are not given any recognition, because--we put out an edition every day. Despite everything, we function. We achieve near miracles.

We are not like some bakery that should be making bread and doesn't even put out a piece of toast; we are not some complex or other in which millions have already been invested, with results that are--simply--negative. Everything indicates, however, that we are less important than a bakery that does not produce bread or a complex that does not produce anything because it is simply not producing, despite the millions tied up in it. So what is the use in saying that we are unable to improve our work and cover the great variety of events because, at the moment, our reporters have not so much as a bicycle to do it with? What use is it to say what has already been said...?

Sure, I know they are going to tell me that there are no vehicles to hand out and that this is "simply the situation the country is experiencing." Sure, but this is already becoming a cliché and a poor excuse. I feel it should be said that, without information, there is nothing. Without information there is no implementation of party directives, no knowledge of government actions, no national defense, no culture, no education, nothing at all.

Meanwhile, although the news media in general are not privileged with respect to transportation, in certain ministries and agencies we witness an irrational distribution of vehicles--a car for the chief, a car for the chief's secretary, a car for so-and-so and another for what's-his-name. We see thousands of Angolan government vehicles being "privatized" by a bureaucratic hierarchy--light vehicles that only serve the interests of the individuals to whom they are assigned, and never the interests of the enterprises or services. Only private interests--to take the children to school, to take the wife shopping, to go to the movies, to picnics and to the beach on Sundays. All this on the tab of the generous Angolan Government, from the gasoline to the repairs and all the other expenses of maintenance. There is no doubt whatever that the Angolan Government is truly generous. Others incur the expense and the government picks up the bill.

We won't even mention the thousands of imported trucks, the Land Rovers and other trucks of various makes that go around empty from top to bottom. Empty, bare of anything in the public interest, but loaded with private interest, speculative interests. There is no control over this, no control at all, because the Angolan state is paying the bill. The Angolan people, that is.

And us? We here at JORNAL DE ANGOLA continue to ask for vehicles to which we are entitled, entitled, entitled....

We keep asking, even though there are still people who think newspapers are "paper colored with ink," as some said.

Note: We have not yet gone to the OGE.

6362  
CSO: 4742/315

## YUGOSLAV FIRM INVOLVED IN PHOSPHATE PROJECT

Luanda JORNAL DE ANGOLA in Portuguese 11 May 82 p 1

[Text] Phosphate mining is being reactivated in Cabinda Province with financing from the "Yugoslav Fund for Aid to Underdeveloped Countries," based on an ambitious program signed into agreement with Angolan authorities.

The prospecting is being conducted in the area of Mongo-Tando, Cacongo Municipio, by the Yugoslav firm ENERGO-PROJEKT. Technicians at the site have received, in addition to the necessary equipment, two drilling machines, the larger of which has a capacity to bore 25 meters per day.

The phosphate prospecting agreement also provides for the assignment of another 20 Yugoslav technicians to Cacongo and the hiring of 30 unskilled workers.

In the first phase, attention will be focused on the zone where phosphates have been found closer to the surface, which will permit significant savings in materials and costs.

The Angolan and foreign technicians connected with the project have already located 22 of the 62 test sites abandoned by the former COFANG (the colonial firm which exploited Angola's phosphates).

The technicians, who have been working hard to locate new areas to institute drilling at the respective campsites, have already opened up eight extensive trails in Mongo-Tando.

Cabinda's phosphate veins extend almost throughout the province to the neighboring republics of Zaire and the Congo, the geologists note, explaining that the richest zones are those of Mongo-Tando, Weka, Caceta, Massabi and Chivovo.

Meanwhile, to make the Angolan-Yugoslav project more fruitful, the two partners have decided to intensify the negotiations after the first prospecting is completed and the most favorable drilling areas have been located.

Another aspect meriting the attention of the two countries is support in transporting materials from Cabinda to Caconga.

The Yugoslav enterprise ENERGO-PROJEKT is headquartered in Belgrade and operates in about 40 countries. It has five branches in Zambia alone, with 49 percent of the income going to ZECCO (Zambian-Yugoslav joint company).

Phosphate mining is extremely important to Angola, particularly in this phase of national reconstruction. Thus, phosphates will be added to the other sources of foreign exchange, such as petroleum, diamonds and copper. Phosphates are also being mined in Zaire Province, with the cooperation of Bulgarian technicians.

Finally, economic experts point out that phosphates mined in Angola are in great demand on the international market.

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CSO: 4742/305

## BRIEFS

U.S., ISRAELI PILOTS--In an interview with NOVEMBRO magazine, Lieutenant Colonel Ngongo, chief of intelligence and reconnaissance of the FAPLA [Armed Forces of the People's Republic of Angola] General Saaff, accused the South African racist army of using U.S. pilots, veterans of the Vietnam war, and Israeli pilots in its attacks against Angola. The FAPLA officer stated that the use of American and Israeli pilots "trained in the Israeli-Arab conflict" is enabling South Africa to "gradually dispense with foreign assistance to pilot its planes to the extent that South African pilots are gaining experience in the war against Angola." The FAPLA chief of intelligence and reconnaissance also claimed that Angolan citizens in the country's southern provinces are being abducted and trained in the Namibina area of Enana, to swell the ranks of the puppet group UNITA, which has plans to "proclaim independence" in Ondjiva. In his interview with NOVEMBRO, Colonel Ngongo also pointed out that the South African army is concentrating powerful forces and materiel in northern Namibia to launch a new attack, aimed at northern Angola. [Text] [Luanda JORNAL DE ANGOLA in Portuguese 8 May 82 p 1] 6362

AGREEMENT WITH GDR YOUTH ORGANIZATION--The JMPLA-Party Youth and the FDJ [Federation of Democratic Youth] Brigade of the GDR, represented respectively by Serafim Cananito, party youth secretary for production and social affairs, and by Michael Glatte, member of the FDJ Central Council, recently signed an agreement in Luanda for professional training of young people from Cabinda Province. Speaking for Francisco Bartolomeu, first secretary of the Party Youth, Cananito offered felicitations to the GDR delegation on the anniversary of 8 May (the date of the fall of the fascist regime in Germany) and described the relationship between the two organizations as excellent. The youth leader added that this initiative will contribute greatly to the professional training of Angolan youth. Present at the signing ceremony were Angela Braganca, second secretary of the JMPLA Party Youth, and members of the organization's National Committee, Johannes Schoeche, the GDR ambassador in Angola, and other embassy officials. GDR youth brigades have been in the RPA [People's Republic of Angola] since 1977, working at the training centers in Malanje, N'dalatando, Uige, Lobito, Gabela and Cabinda, instructing young Angolans in metalworking, mechanics, automobile maintenance and other courses. [Text] [Luanda JORNAL DE ANGOLA in Portuguese 8 May 82 p 2] 6362

DEPUTY MINISTER DISMISSED--In a decree which reached our desk yesterday, Comrade Jose Eduardo dos Santos, president of the MPLA-Labor Party and of the People's Republic of Angola, dismissed Manuel Domingos da Silva Lemos from the office of vice minister of provincial coordination. In another decree, the Angolan chief of state named Raul Neto Fernando to the post of assistant dean of the University of Angola. [Text] [Luanda JORNAL DE ANGOLA in Portuguese 6 May 82 p 1] 6362

MOCAMEDES PORT DIFFICULTIES--Mocamedes (ANGOP)--About 58,372 tons of miscellaneous cargo were handled in the first quarter by the Mocamedes port enterprise, according to a statement to ANGOP [ANGOLAN PRESS AGENCY] by port director Humberto de Ataíde Dias. Ataíde Dias emphasized that the lack of shipping has led to a series of difficulties inasmuch as economic results depend on the movement of cargo. He said: "We would not like to turn to the General State Budget to cover our wage and other costs. But we think we can overcome this difficulty, since plans call for 180 ships to visit the port of Mocamedes this year." He added: "We also think we can get on top of the problem provided that our debtors pay what they owe." The Mocamedes port director revealed that the chief debtor is AGENANG, which owes 35,595,849 kwanzas, followed by the Ministries of Home Trade, Industry, Construction, Fisheries, and Petroleum and other organizations, whose total debt is 43,198,880 kwanzas. Discussing the social aspect, Humberto Dias said that the Mocamedes port enterprise employs 679 workers. Concerning the party structure, Humbert Dias said that the activities carried on within the enterprise are constructive despite the lack of interconnection among the four existing cells and the lack of meetings for taking timely stands. [Excerpts] [Luanda JORNAL DE ANGOLA in Portuguese 5 May 82 p 3] 11798

CSO: 4742/306

## CAMEROON

### BRIEFS

LOAN AGREEMENTS SIGNED--Three loan agreements totaling 6,730,000,000 CFA francs were signed yesterday at the Ministry of Economy and Planning between Cameroon and the central fund for cooperation. The first loan, amounting to 1,200,000,000 CFA francs is to finance part of the construction of an oil plant. The second totaling 4,000,000,000 CFA francs is for the extension of oil palm and rubber and the third, which is for 1,530,000,000 CFA francs, will be used to finance the mechanization development project in the northern province. [AB080936 Yaounde Domestic Service in French 0600 GMT 8 Jun 82]

CSO: 4719/1042

FORTHCOMING PRESENTATION OF 4-YEAR DEVELOPMENT PLAN

Maputo NOTICIAS in Portuguese 1 May 82 p 7

[Text] Praia, 30 Apr--In the first half of June the Praia government will present its projects to its "economic partners" for the development of the country in the period 1982/1985, with an overall value of 25 billion Cape Verdian escudos.

The projects, to be discussed at a roundtable with the "partners in development," are introduced in a document which will serve as the basis for the discussions. Its preamble notes the "need for a long-range consideration" of the Cape Verdian economy.

The basic document, prepared by the SEPC [Secretariat of State for Planning and Cooperation], addresses the problem of Cape Verdian development for the next 4 years, but within a long-range strategy.

As necessary stages in the building of an independent economy, the Government of Cape Verde proposes to maintain the current economic balance in the next 4 years, to implement an effective employment and professional training policy and to remodel the nation's economic structures through a reordering of the territory, regulation of the productive apparatus and popular participation in the development of the country.

The Cape Verdian Government recognizes that the country's development prospects are "limited at present," but declared that "they are real at long range."

"Cape Verde's greatest resource is its people; they are the major element in the development policy, the primary factor in construction," reads the document, entitled "Roundtable for Partners in Development."

In the projects presented to the international community for consideration to assess its readiness to provide support, the basic sectors are industry and services linked to the geoeconomic position of the archipelago.

The projects presented in the SEPC document involve about 39,000 hectares of arable land and the development of natural resources which could provide a sufficiently secure base in the fishing sector. The country has an exclusive zone of 630,000 kilometers, which could produce an average of 40,000 tons of fish [per year?].



PAICV NATIONAL COUNCIL MEETING ANALYZES SITUATION

Praia VOZ DO POVO in Portuguese 23 Apr 82 pp 1-2

[Text] The National Council of the PAICV met in extraordinary session from 15 to 17 April 1982 in the city of Praia. The session was chaired by Secretary General Aristides Pereira.

Taking part were the first secretaries of the regions and autonomous sectors and the secretaries general of the mass organizations.

The purpose of the meeting was to make an intensive study of power, its nature and objectives, the exercise of government and the functioning of its institutions.

Some 7 years after the declaration of independence, and looking toward the convening of the Second Congress, there was a need for a critical assessment of the political administration of the regime, to overcome the shortcomings and to find ways to continue the transformation of the society and its pursuit of progress and social justice.

The National Council found that the proper exercise of political power requires a deep understanding of Cape Verdian society, its history and development and the factors that determine its present and future shape. Emphasis was given to the analysis of economic, social, cultural, political and ideological factors and their impact on the society.

In the discussion of Cape Verdian society and its rural nature, particular emphasis was given to the economic and social instability resulting from colonial exploitation and the prolonged drought, insularity and the behavior generated by this situation. The state of the culture was defined and a need was found to intensify the struggle to preserve the national cultural identity. The superimposition of ideological currents on our society, their lines of force and their trends were analyzed, as were the mechanisms to strengthen party ideology.

Note was made of the important role of the mass media and the schools in disseminating party principles for continuing appropriation by the popular masses.

Also stressed was the importance to our country and its leadership of an analysis of the social strata, their conflicting interests and prospects for their development in accordance with the country's economic perspectives.

The members of the National Council gave great attention to the analysis of the nation's political system, both at the level of the overall exercise of power and at the sectoral level of the internal functioning of the major institutions of government.

It was recognized that the effort to consolidate the institutions must be accompanied by the necessary convergence of sectoral objectives and the general political objectives of the regime, as the primary means to strengthen them.

The party and its mission in the present stage of the life of our people was the object of an enriching discussion; the need was stressed for continuing improvement of the mechanisms by which the party exercises its function of political and ideological direction.

Various other issues were examined, pertaining to the nature of the PAICV as the vanguard of our people and its role in the constant development of the necessary conditions for the practice of democracy based on full participation of the citizens in all sectors of national life.

In light of the importance of this participation as the determining factor in the regime of national revolutionary democracy, there was a discussion of the role which the social and mass organizations must continue to play. Also mentioned in this regard were the means needed to strengthen the local organs of government.

The important question of the political and ideological content of the national unit as the basically dynamic element in the concept of national revolutionary democracy was broadly debated, with speeches representing valuable contributions for further study.

Discussion of the political system included treatment of issues pertaining to the economy, emigration and international relations.

The National Council recommended that this reflection be extended to the other party structures, namely, within the framework of the preparations for the Second Party Congress, and that the Political Commission study the most appropriate means to ensure continuing and broad consideration of ideological and political issues of national interest.

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CSO: 4742/309

CHRONOLOGICAL HISTORY OF HABRE'S CAMPAIGN

AB071048 Paris AFP in French 1006 GMT 7 Jun 82

[Text] Paris, 7 Jun (AFP)--Hissene Habre, who has just taken control of Ndjamena, left the Chadian capital precipitately on 15 December 1980 after the victory of Goukouni Oueddei's government troops supported by Libyan troops.

He went underground near the Sudanese border (east of the country) with his troops, the FAN. Since then, Chadian political life has been marked by a war of attrition between Habre and Goukouni to gain power:

1981:

--6 January: Libya and Chad announce a proposal to merge (rejected a few months later by Goukouni Oueddei).

--28 June: The 18th OAU summit meeting in Nairobi calls for the deployment of an inter-African force in Chad but does not officially condemn Libyan presence in Chadian territory.

--17 September: President Goukouni makes his first official visit to France.

--22 October: From Cancun (Mexico), President Francois Mitterrand calls for the "urgent deployment" of an inter-African force in Chad. A few days later, France announces that it is giving "logistic support" to the transitional National Union Government [GUNT] presided over by Goukouni Oueddei.

--3 November: Departure of Libyan troops at President Goukouni's request. This departure was immediately followed by an attack in the east of the country by Hissene Habre's troops.

--15 November: The establishment of the pan-African peacekeeping force made up of soldiers from Nigeria, Senegal and Zaire--all totaling about 5,000 men.

--19 November: While the FAN is in control of two prefectures--Abeche and Biltini--France gives military aid to Goukouni's government. This was suspended in February 1982.

--End of December: Hissene Habre's FAN takes control of the strategic stronghold of Oum Hadjer which opens the road to Ndjamena.

1982:

--14 January: After the taking of Faya Largeau--a prefecture in northern Chad--by Hissein Habre, almost one quarter of the country comes under his control.

--10 to 11 February: An OAU resolution in Nairobi stipulates the [word indistinct] of a cease-fire, negotiations for national reconciliation and the organization of free elections. Goukouni Oueddei considers these decisions as "null and void."

--End of March: The failure of various counterattacks by government forces.

--10 May: Formation of a "council of state," a state organ headed by Colonel Kamougue (in fact, a true power).

--25 May: After President Goukouni's visit to Tripoli, Libya affirms its "neutrality," and promises "not to intervene in Chad's internal conflicts."

--30 May: After Mao (24 May) and Massakory (29 May), the town of Ati was taken over by FAN.

--31 May: A military barrier is set up around the capital to prevent Hissene Habre's troops from advancing.

--2 June: Two months' extension of the mandate of the 2,000 Nigerian soldiers in the inter-African force.

--Mr Djidingar Domo Ngardoum forms a government whose first aim, he says, will be to restore peace to Chad "by every means possible."

--5 June: The last obstacle on the road to Ndjamena, the town of Massaguet, located 80 km north of the capital, came under FAN control after 5 hours of fighting.

CSO: 4719/1025

BISHOPS APPEAL TO POLITICAL LEADERS FOR PEACE

Ndjamena INFO TCHAD in French 7 Apr 82 pp 2, 3, 4

[Excerpts] Gathered in Ndjamena for the investiture of the new archbishop and for the annual conclave of their Episcopal conference, the bishops of Chad addressed a message to the leaders of Chad at the end of their session. In this message, the bishops drew the leaders' attention to the poverty of the Chadian people and to the fear and insecurity that reign throughout the country. The message reads as follows:

"We Bishops of Chad, gathered in Ndjamena for the investiture of the new archbishop, Charles Vandame, and for the annual conclave of our Episcopal conference, before parting wish to address to the Christians of Chad and to the men of good will in this country a solemn appeal for peace.

"Our mission as ministers requires us to be the voice of the people of Chad, especially the poorest. The people have been suffering too long from events that are paralyzing the country and steeping it in blood. Fear and insecurity reign everywhere. Entire regions are threatened by death due to starvation. Epidemics are causing devastation due to lack of medication. Finally, many of Chad's best sons are leaving the country in search of peace and work; students see their future compromised by the disruption of their studies. This is why we would be lacking in our duty if we were to remain silent.

"Egotism, the striving for power for oneself, scorning of the weak and vengeance cannot lead to peace. What leads to lasting peace is mutual respect, the spirit of brotherhood and service and justice for all, especially for the poor and the small. 'If someone wants to be the greatest,' Jesus tells us, 'he must serve everyone.' (Mark 9, 35). This means that the greater our responsibility, the more we must exercise it in a spirit of service for the good of all, not to derive some advantage from it. The true policy is the one that seeks the good of everyone.

"Dear brother Chadians, our responsibility for our children today is great. Tomorrow they will judge us harshly for having left them a country torn

"apart, ravaged by hunger and poverty, paralyzed by ignorance and underdevelopment. This is what prolongation of the current situation is leading to. If we don't change our behavior, we are lost and so is our country.

"Dear brothers, the task is great, but it is not too late; it is still possible to unite the country's forces to build a new Chad."

Ndjamena, 27 March 1982

Charles Vandame, Henri Veniat, Regis Belzide, Jean-Claude Bouchard

9693

CSO: 4719/873

## CABINET ADOPTS 1982 BUDGET, CONSIDERS OTHER ISSUES

Ndjamena INFO TCHAD in French 3 Apr 82 pp 2,3

[Text] During its regular session on 1 April, the Council of Ministers adopted the budget for fiscal year 1982. The budget totals 17,203,000,000. According to government spokesman Idriss Mahamat Amame, revenue is set at 7 billion, with 5 billion coming from customs duties. On this point, the council noted the drop in customs receipts--almost 4 billion in lost income from customs duties. As for the total deficit, it amounts to 10 billion CFA francs. The 1982 budget, due to its exceptional nature, includes an operating account only.

The complete text of the council's business, prepared by the minister of information, tourism, rural development and post and telecommunications [as published]:

Presided over by the head of state, GUNT [Transitional National Union Government] President Goukouni Weddeye, the meeting began at 9:30 am and ended at 2:15 pm. There were five points to be examined:

(1) the 1982 budget; (2) the problem of Chad's foreign embassies; (3) Chad's constitutional problem; (4) Chad's participation in the meeting of member countries of the Islamic Conference; and (5) miscellaneous.

The 1982 draft budget was adopted by the council. Forecasts for income and expenditures totaled 17,203,000,000 CFA francs. Features of this budget are as follows:

1. Funds amount to 7 billion, with 5 billion coming from customs receipts. A significant drop in customs receipts is therefore evident, as they normally fluctuate between 7 and 9 billion.

2. Expenditures total 17,203,000,000, resulting in a deficit of 10 billion.

Three observations must be made with regard to total expenditures:

a. Considering our limited resources, not all of the needs identified by the various ministries, which amounted to around 30 billion, were taken into consideration.

b. The distribution of operating funds among the departments will be handled by the heads of the ministries.

c. The 1982 budget includes operating expenses only, and has no investment account.

The operation of our foreign embassies was the subject of broad discussion. The council asked the minister of state for foreign affairs and cooperation and the minister of economy and finance to jointly study immediate solutions to this problem. The Ministry of Justice presented Chad's constitutional problem, mentioned during the conference of leaders at Ndjamena and constituting one of GUNT's basic responsibilities. The membership of the Constitutional Commission already established by decree will be made public within the next few days.

A Chadian delegation has been authorized by the council to go to Islamabad where a conference of leaders of Islamic Conference member countries will be held. Finally, miscellaneous reports on various ministries were heard by the council.

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CSO: 4719/873



## GOUKOUNI SEES GUNT AS VICTIM OF INTERNATIONAL IMPERIALISM

Ndjamena INFO TCHAD in French 7 Apr 82 pp 1-2

[Article: "President Goukouni to RFI: A Shake-up Will Not Bring a Miraculous Solution"]

[Text] In an exclusive interview granted to RADIO FRANCE INTERNATIONAL's special correspondent yesterday, President Goukouni Weddeye put an end to persistent rumors of an imminent cabinet shake-up. Indirectly responding to desires expressed in certain Chadian political circles to see a cohesive team of technocrats formed within GUNT [Transitional National Union Government], the head of state declared that a shake-up would not bring a miraculous solution to the current impasse. According to the GUNT president, it would be necessary instead to drive out certain harmful influences who are interfering with GUNT's activities. President Goukouni continued; stressing the heterogeneous nature of his government, which includes "all colors." He accused certain "reactionaries and opportunists in the pay of international imperialism" of seeking to sabotage the normal operation of the apparatus of state. In President Goukouni's eyes, GUNT is only a victim of international imperialism.

President Goukouni also made a bitter acknowledgment regarding the ANI [Integrated National Army]. "In the field, this army exists in name only," he said. This situation, he stressed once again, is due to the factions that are presenting numerous obstacles to merging forces. The problem lies in the fact that the FAT [Chadian Armed Forces] want to be the nucleus of the ANI, whereas the other forces from FROLINAT [Chadian National Liberation Front] consider themselves a force in their own right. The lack of physical and logistical resources obliges most of the soldiers to rely on their faction. This no doubt is what contributes to the defeat of the government forces, added President Goukouni. It is therefore necessary, recommended President Goukouni, to do everything possible to rise above the factional mentality to reactivate a spirit of cohesion. Otherwise, all of the government's actions will be doomed to failure.

Mentioning the situation of the country in general, the GUNT president said that the struggle that the government is leading against the forces of evil does not leave it enough time to devote to the organization and economic development of the country. Moreover, he acknowledged that Chad's situation has

encouraged the emergency of a new privileged class whose wealth contrasts with the poverty of most of the people. But he related this fact to "the state of disorder that profits many people." GUNT, which is still involved in clarifying the political and military situation, will take steps in due time to right the ship.

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CSO: 4719/873

## BRIEFS

CAPITAL SEIZED--According to the French Ministry of External Relations, which officially confirmed the seizure of Ndjamená by Hissene Habre, some sources say that Mr Goukouni Oueddei ran away but according to others he was killed. [Excerpt] [LD071630 Paris Domestic Service in French 1600 GMT 7 Jun 82]

NEW GOVERNMENT--Ndjamena, 3 Jun (MAP)--A new Chadian Government was formed by Djidingar Domo Ngardoum [TANJUG spelling]. The premier outlined the policy he intended to follow: "Seek to establish peace in Chad by all possible ways." "Who ever speaks of peace, speaks of negotiations with the enemy," Djidingar added. He did not, however, mention the head of the Northern Armed Forces (FAN), Hissene Habre, with whom President Goukouni Oueddei still refuses to negotiate and whose armed supporters are 80 km from the capital. The premier also said he had confidence in the Inter-African Peace Keeping Force in Chad. [Text] [LD032014 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1933 GMT 3 Jun 82]

GOUKOUNI DEATH REPORTED--Paris, 7 Jun (REUTER)--Chad's capital, Ndjamená, has fallen to the rebel troops of former Defence Minister Hissene Habre, French officials said today. The officials could not confirm reports circulating in Paris that Mr Goukouni had been killed while trying to cross the border into Cameroon. [Excerpts] [AB071158 London REUTER in English 1105 GMT 7 Jun 82]

NDJAMENA TAKEOVER--Ndjamena, 7 Jun (AFP)--Ndjamena, the capital of Chad has been under the control of Hissene Habre's FAN since 0900 GMT Monday. The FAN surrounded the city at 0500 local [time] and took it over in less than 3 hours. The government troops, made up solely of members of President Goukouni Oueddei's People's Armed Forces (FAP), put up little resistance. The fighting around the president's palace and near the center of town which started around 0730 lasted 30 minutes. The whereabouts of the Chadian president are unknown. As early as 0800, while sporadic firing of guns were heard around the residence [as printed], some FAN combatants in groups of from 6 to 8, were already walking round town with their weapons on their shoulders. Soon before 0900, the civilian population took to the streets of the capital with shouts of joy. Almost immediately, several hundred persons, accompanied by FAN soldiers, went to the presidency of the republic. [Text] [AB070952 Paris AFP in French 0929 GMT 7 Jun 82]

NDJAMENA FALLS--The civil war in Chad has just passed another turning point, perhaps a decisive one. Hissene Habre took control of the capital, Ndjamena, with his troops this morning. The government army put up very little resistance. No one knows yet where President Goukouni Oueddei is. This strike is no surprise. One year ago Hissene Habre was put to flight by the regular army reinforced by a contingent of Libyan soldiers. But since Colonel al-Qadhdhafi's men departed, Hissene Habre took up the struggle again. He has seized at least one of the country's towns every week. This time it is the capital, and perhaps final victory. [Text] [LD071028 Paris Domestic Service in French 1000 GMT 7 Jun 82]

CSO: 4719/1025

PRESIDENT REPORTS TO CABINET, POLITICAL BUREAU ON TRIP TO HINTERLAND

Brazzaville MWETI in French 17 Apr 82 pp 1, 2

[Excerpt] Col Denis Sassou-Nguesso, president of the Central Committee of the Congolese Republic, head of state and president of the Council of Ministers, presided yesterday, Friday, 16 April, from 0900 to 1300 hours, over a combined meeting of the Political Bureau and members of the government team.

The attention of the participants was focused on two major subjects during this meeting, which was the first of such importance and such a high level since the president of the Central Committee returned from his long trip to Bouenza, Lekoumou and Niari:

First of all, the president of the Central Committee talked about his recent visit to the grassroots and the activities being carried out by the masses in the above-mentioned localities. He put special emphasis on the reception he was accorded, one of the most ardent and militant the masses have ever given to the head of the revolution. He also noted the high degree to which the masses are mobilized in support of the party's slogans and the production goals of the 5-year plan.

Such readiness to serve the revolution under the impetus of the Congolese Labor Party [PCT] demonstrates devotion to the ideals of the immortal Marien Ngouabi as embodied in the historic Movement of 5 February 1979.

The members of the Political Bureau and the government team were pleased by the level of awareness and enthusiasm of our masses.

This massive support for the party's calls to action in the revolution now under way and the hope that our people repose in the plan require our cadres to assume even greater responsibilities than before. Such was the partial conclusion reached by the members of the Political Bureau and the government team on hearing the report of Comrade Denis Sassou-Nguesso, the head of state, on his trip to the southwestern part of the country. The report provided every political and ministerial department with food for reflection on ways to improve the effectiveness of its activities.

After the report on the presidential trip to Bouenza, Lekoumou and Niari, the president of the Central Committee introduced his second topic, the upcoming Central Committee meeting.

As everyone knows, the Central Committee is to hold its regular meeting 23-30 April. As the first meeting of the year, and the first meeting in the first year of our first 5-year plan, it has quite naturally galvanized the interest and attention of the members of the Political Bureau and the government team.

9516

CSO: 4719/878

# MINISTER INSPECTS REPAIR, EXPANSION WORK AT MAYA-MAYA AIRPORT

Brazzaville MWETI in French 17 Apr 82 pp 1, 3

[Excerpts] Comrade Hilaire Mounthault, member of the Central Committee of the PCT [Congolese Labor Party] and minister of transport and civil aviation, has inspected the worksite at Maya-Maya International Airport, where the runway is being thickened and the terminal is being expanded. He was accompanied by several civil aviation officials and by experts and technicians from the two companies--Dragage and Colas--responsible for the work.

The works program is intended to rehabilitate the international airport (the runway is giving way as a result of cracks in the concrete) and enable it to accommodate big carriers like the Boeing 747. The work is divided into three projects. The first involves strengthening the runway and its access roads--putting concrete over the small cracks, removing the seriously fissured concrete slabs, pouring in fresh concrete to replace the unuseable slabs. The work should require close to 60,000 cubic meters of asphaltic concrete, which makes up the surface of the runway.

The second project is to expand the area for airplane parking by adding five places for jumbo jets. This involves building up embankments, laying transitional concrete slabs, pouring asphaltic concrete, installing five wind barriers and building wind protection strips.

The other project involves equipping the runway with approach lights and building a line of approach. In that connection, the head of the airport authority, Comrade Thionvo, has said that pre-selection for restricted bidding has just begun, and the candidates eligible to bid can be selected once those providing the financing have approved them.

Supervision and general oversight of the work has been entrusted to the management of the Dakar office of ASECNA [Agency for Air Navigation and Safety in Africa and Madagascar], in its role as engineering consultant.

The total cost of the work comes to CFA Fr 6.5 billion, which is being provided by:

--ADB (African Development Bank), 2.7 billion;  
--BADEA [Arab Bank for African Economic Development], 2.1 billion;  
--BDEAC (Development Bank of the Central African States), 300 million;  
--FAC (Aid and Cooperation Fund) [French], 300 million; and  
--Peoples Republic of Congo, 1.1 billion.

These projects, under way since January, are being carried out by two French companies working together, Dragage and Colas. Both specialize in construction work on roads, bridges, highway systems, airfields, etc.

According to its manager, Mr Chagnas Marc, the Dragage-Congo company came to Brazzaville on 14 February 1981. It is a subsidiary of Dragage of France. It has branches in Africa (Ivory Coast, Benin, Ghana, Gabon, Djibouti, Congo, etc.), Asia and South America. In addition to the Maya-Maya projects, the Dragage-Congo company is to build a bridge at Oyo and another at Gamboma, as well as the Loutete-Mfouati road. All of these projects are scheduled to get under way in April. It is also doing road work at the residence of the head of state, which is still under construction.

Mr Michel Reyraud, the head of Colas, has said his company is active in 48 countries around the world. It has been established in Congo since 1972. It currently employs close to 100 workers, backed up by 7 expatriates, on the Maya-Maya projects. During 1982 it is scheduled to work on construction of National Highway 1 (the Pointe-Noire road), along with installation of five bridges, the Ouesso airport, the port of Impfondo and the lengthening of the airport runway there. All of this work should be starting in May or June of this year.

There have been three phases in the building of the Maya-Maya airport.

In 1949 the airstrip was 2,100 meters long, and then it was lengthened to 2,800 meters. Its total length is now 3,300 meters. The first 2,100 meters is 60 meters wide. Beyond that point it is 45 meters. It must be widened to 60 meters along its entire length. Work is expected to be complete by March 1983. Comrade Bouiti, permanent under-secretary for civil aviation, is not disturbed by any delays in carrying out the work.

Once the work is complete, Maya-Maya international airfield will play a pre-dominant role in the national economy and will be one of Africa's leading airports. Traffic there has increased by 40 percent since the beginning of the year, both in number of passengers and in cargo and the number of aircraft arrivals and departures.

9516  
CSO: 4719/878



## BRIEFS

EUROPEAN ASSISTANCE--The Commission of the European Communities [EC] on 2 April 1982 approved a total of 1.12 million ECU's, or CFA Fr 336 million, in nonreimbursable aid, from the fifth European Development Fund (EDF), for a multi-year training program. This project, which has a place in the model program of EC aid to Congo, is intended to help reduce distortions in the productive sectors resulting from the disparity between the volume of investments called for in the 1982-1986 5-year plan and the capacity to implement them. The assistance is aimed at financing spot training and refresher courses on the job (55 percent of the program), providing the funding for specialized short-term training courses for skilled workers with some advanced training (35 percent of the program) and providing a 10-percent reserve fund. These projects are among the priority objectives of the program elaborated by the planning ministry, along with certain projects financed by EC assistance. [Text] [Brazzaville MWETI in French 16 Apr 82 p 3] 9516

CSO: 4719/878

SALE OF LARGE-CIRCULATION FRENCH PRESS TO CEASE

Bissau NO PINTCHA in Portuguese 28 Apr 82 p 3

[Text] Beginning Saturday, 1 May, the French Center of Pedagogical and Cultural Cooperation in Bissau will cease to insure the circulation of French newspapers and magazines, which had been done through the House of Culture.

According to an explanation addressed to the Ministry of Information and Culture, this measure is due to the fact that in addition to the current attempt to make this action official, the expenses for this distribution surpassed the budget possibility of that institution.

An inquiry requested by the MIC [Ministry of Information and Culture] which was recently conducted by the French center in cooperation with the Press Dissemination Agency with headquarters in Dakar, made it possible to evaluate the interest in this circulation. In this way it was found that the most requested magazines are: JEUNE AFRIQUE (25 copies), PARIS-MATCH (25), L'EXPRESS (25), LE POINT (25), LE MONDE Weekly Selection (10), LE MONDE DIPLOMATIQUE (25) and MARIE-CLAIRE (25).

"This experiment cannot be continued for the time being, because of the need for credits for such an operation," said the center director in the copy of a letter sent to the delegate to the Ministry of Foreign Relations, who is also in charge of the Cooperation and Development of France, in which substantial aid was requested.

According to that letter, to continue this operation until December of this year would demand a sum of 44,632 French francs, or the equivalent of 287,948 Guinean pesos; the expenses in French francs could be covered by the center, which for its part would receive the equivalent in our currency.

11635

CSO: 4742/311

BRIEFS

PRC TRADE DELEGATION--A trade mission from the People's Republic of China has been in our country since 24 April to proceed, together with our government authorities who are connected with the trade sector, to a careful examination of the possibilities of exchange between the two countries. The Chinese delegation, led by Jian Enbo, the assistant manager general of the China National, has already met in several working sessions with the main authorities of the People's Stores and the SOCOMIN, and at the present time the delegation is visiting the interior of the country. In their working agenda, special interest is given to the possibilities of exporting cashew nuts to that Asian nation. For our part, the trade authorities are interested in receiving some Chinese products. [Text] [Bissau NO PINTCHA in Portuguese 28 Apr 82 p 3] 11635

CULTURAL COOPERATION WITH USSR--A plan for cultural cooperation between the Soviet Association of Friendship and Cultural Contacts With Foreign Countries, the Soviet Association of Friendship With the Peoples of Africa and the Association of Friendship Guinea-Bissau-USSR was recently signed in the Friendship House of Moscow. The document, valid for 1982-1983, envisages exchanges of delegations and organization of exhibits, trips by artists, meetings and social contacts. Present at the solemn signing ceremony were Comrades Domingos Brito, member of the PAIGC Central Committee and president of the Association of Friendship Guinea-Bissau-USSR; Armando Forbes, member of the leadership of the association; officials of the Guinea-Bissau Embassy; and leaders of Soviet social organizations. Yuriy Popov signed the document for the Soviets. [Text] [Bissau NO PINTCHA in Portuguese 8 May 82 p 3] 11635

PORTUGUESE CREDIT FOR FUEL--The Bank of Portugal has granted a credit of 20 million escudos to the Republic of Guinea-Bissau for the purchase of fuels and lubricants, and for equipment for DICOL, said Carlos Gomes Junior, the government delegate of that firm, who visited Lisbon recently. In addition, that official said that the Portuguese firm for distribution of fuels and lubricants, PETROGAL, gave to DICOL six vehicles with a capacity of 20,000 liters each, which will be used for transporting fuel in the city of Bissau and the interior. During the contacts established with the official of PETROGAL it was also decided that the Portuguese firm in question will give assistance to DICOL in training specialized cadres and will supply material for the installation of new fuel storage facilities in Buba and Bambadinca, with a capacity of 6,000 cubic meters each. The new facilities will be

installed soon by technicians of PETROGAL, and will supply the eastern and southern areas of the country. [Text] [Bissau NO PINTCHA in Portuguese 8 May 82 p 2] 11635

PORTUGUESE PHYSICIANS IN BISSAU--Talks dealing with the widespread endemic diseases affecting the population of our country will be held on 8, 15 and 22 May by a delegation of Portuguese physicians led by Dr Manuel Gardetter Correia, of the Public Health [Department], which includes Dr Julio Goncalves, a pediatrician. This delegation will stay in our country for a month to study means to improve health in the field of pediatrics and public health (leprosy, sleeping sickness and tuberculosis). Beginning 10 May the delegation will conduct a census of people affected by sleeping sickness in the sectors of Biombo, Prabis and Safin, and on the 20th they will conduct the same work in Sonaco and Lugadjol, Gabu region. [Excerpt] [Bissau NO PINTCHA in Portuguese 8 May 82 p 2] 11635

CSO: 4742/311

ISLAMIC COMMUNITY HOLDS IMPORTANT MEETING IN NAIROBI

Nairobi MSETO in Swahili 25 Apr 82 p 4-5

[Article: Important Islamic Meeting Begins in Nairobi]

[Text] An important meeting, or seminar, on the spreading of Islam is beginning tomorrow, Monday, at the Kenya Science Teacher's College.

This meeting was prepared by the Kenya Islamic Council in conjunction with the Islamic Bureau of the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya (Al-Daiwa Al-Islamiya). The Al-Daiwa Al-Islamiya Bureau is the sponsor of this meeting.

The chief news director of the Kenya Islamic community, Shayk Mohammed Yusuf, said that this meeting is the first and only one of its kind in East or Central Africa. It will be attended by representatives of various countries of Africa--Tanzania, Somalia, Ethiopia, Rwanda, Burundi, Zaire, Zambia, Djibouti, Uganda, etc.

Five party members of the Al-Daiwa Al-Islamia Bureau have arrived in Nairobi from Libya to attend this meeting. These party members are Matug Mohamed al-Zubedi, Ibrahim Bashir al-Ghawil, Tahir Mohammed Said, Ahmed 'Abdallah Khamaj, and Doctor Muammar al-Qamati.

The aim of this meeting is to proclaim or spread Islam in every corner of this continent of Africa. More than 250 representatives will be attending this meeting tomorrow. Many of them will be shayks and scholars as well as leaders of various Islamic offices in the countries listed above.

The committee members of the action committee of the principal Kenya Islamic Council who will be busy day and night until this week-long meeting is over are the following:

A. A. Shaykh A. A. A. El-Maawy

- Chairman and Host.

Al-Haj Abubakar Wabomba

-Secretary General.

Mr Zulfikar Khan

-Secretary and press liaison.

Abdallah al-Qadhi

-Representative of the Embassy of the Libyan Republic and finance officer.

Ismail Khalfan Said

- Deputy secretary general of the Kenya Islamic Council in charge of everything connected with the site of the meeting.

Mr Mohamed Yusuf

- News director of the Kenya Islamic Council who is responsible for welcoming of guests, reception of distinguished guests, communications and transportation.

Shaykh Omar Y. A. Khan

- Chairman of the Tabligh committee in charge of lodgings, welcoming, food service, and printing.

Sharifa Salim Bafagih and Shaykh Harith Swaleh

- Responsible for the plans for the meeting and their implementation, the rooms for routine discussions and for those of the distinguished guests who will be speaking at the meeting.

Mr Osman Amber

- Deputy director.

(Party member) Mr Mursal Mvera

- All matters concerning social and health services.

Mr Ahmed Yusuf

- Secretary General of SUPKEM

Mr Ahmed Abdallah

- Director general of SUPKEM (Kenya Islamic Council)

Shaykh Mohamed Yusuf has called on all Muslims to attend this meeting so that they can spread their ideas better and increase their religious faith.

Shaykh Mohamed Yusuf told the deputy of the Kenya Islamic Council and the Islamic community of Kenya that all Muslims of Kenya thank President Daniel arap Moi for defending freedom of religion under the constitution of the country.

Shaykh Yusuf said the Kenya Islamic Council supports President Moi and his government along with the ruling KANU party.

He stressed that this council has congratulated President Moi on his wise speech at the opening of the meeting of the International Youth Convention (WAMY) last week. He said that President Moi's action made clear that he loves all religions in this country. The council of SUPKEM at the same time wished president good health and a long life.

Shaykh Yusuf said that the final preparations have been made for the meeting including the accommodations and the food.

Likewise the heads of the Kenya Science Teachers College has prepared a special place for the visitors who will attend the meeting to worship at dawn. A place has also been set aside in the school for the Friday sermon. The meeting which begins tomorrow will finish 2 May 1982.

9216

CSO: 4749/31

WAR AGAINST CORRUPTION

Nairobi MSETO in Swahili 18 Apr 82 p 2

[Editorial: "War Against Corruption"]

[Text] Corruption is like the dangerous cancer. Cancer very slowly infects the health of a man until finally the life of that man is destroyed. In a similar manner, corruption is like a cancer that slowly destroys a nation.

One way to treat the disease of cancer is that practiced by Surgeons: complete removal of the diseased part along with the nucleus from which the disease spreads.

Like the treatment for cancer, corruption can be completely eradicated in society by getting rid of corrupt officials who are in positions of authority. Any official known to be engaged in corruption fully deserves to be relieved of his authority because he will continually spread the disease of corruption and in the end destroy the entire nation.

In this connection, we again thank President Daniel arap Moi for his recent warning when he returned from Japan, that corrupt officials in cooperative societies will not be forgiven until they have completely cleaned up their act.

At the same time President Moi promised that cleanup campaign in the cooperative societies will continue. This certainly is a very encouraging prospect.

In an editorial on 14 Mar 1982, we spoke at length of the work which is being done by the commissioner of the cooperative societies Mr Alfriek Birgen in his efforts in cleaning up the corruption which is widespread in the country's various cooperative societies.

We said that those officials who have been doing good work in the cooperative societies have no complaints at all about the efforts of Mr Birgen. Those making the noise are the corrupt officials who, before being singled out by Mr Birgen's fight against corruption in the cooperative societies, were exploiting those citizens whose sweat enables these societies to operate.

Doubtlessly, if Mr Birgen is allowed the chance to continue with his task, he will continue to succeed in his difficult task.

Also when president returned from Japan, he ordered that it is the duty of every Kenyan, no matter what his rank, to remember to pay his debts. This order of President Moi will doubtlessly be heeded by some people who are using their authority to do things which are absolutely against the directives of the government.

9216

CSO: 4749/31



MONJA JAONA APPEALS FOR UNITY, LEAVES FOR PRC

Tananarive MADAGASCAR-MATIN in French 1 Apr 82 pp 1, 2

[Text] The senior member of the Council of the Revolution, Monja Jaona, and his wife left yesterday on the regular Air France flight for the PRC via Paris for health reasons. Before his departure from Ivato, he made the following statement to the press:

"Our country is currently going through a difficult period, the people face serious problems, and we do not have enough supplies. The floods have only worsened the situation. Women and children are restless because of insufficient food. Such a situation often causes disturbances in a society, particularly when some individuals in positions of responsibility divert the supplies before they are distributed to their compatriots.

"There are also certain people who have been intentionally creating trouble among the popular masses and inside or outside the Front. Are these not real Judases--as the president mentioned in his remarks?

"Dissatisfaction is not a remedy for our poverty, and it also threatens to incite tribalism. We are like voyagers on the same galley; if it runs aground we are all in trouble, especially if we do not know enough to respect our unity until we reach safe haven. Frequently, there are security men who get carried away by anger and thereby risk aggravating dissatisfaction.

"I therefore appeal to my compatriots of the National Movement for the Independence of Madagascar (MONIMA) and to all of the Malagasy people. Our country now requires a reorganization based on ideology. This is not the job of one or two people but the concern of all of the Malagasy people. Let us therefore make the effort to reorganize and to rectify the situation with calmness and determination. It is only through unfailing unity that we can get back on our feet. Let us depend only on our own resources, preserve our unity intact and be united like one clenched fist if we want to effectively achieve our objectives."

As chairman of the resupply committee of the Supreme Council of the Revolution (CSR), Monja Jaona announced on the occasion that he had in hand a new plan for resupply which he would make public at an appropriate time.

The CSR senior member was greeted at Ivato International Airport by Gan Yetao, the RPC ambassador to China [as published]; the charge d'affaires of the Iraqi embassy; and members of the MONIMA political bureau, as well as by his close colleagues.

9920

CSO: 4719/839

## OIL PROSPECTING UNDERWAY IN WEST AND SOUTH

Tananarive MADAGASCAR-MATIN in French 27 Mar 82 pp 1,4

[Text] Both the regular permit to OXI (Occidental Petroleum) to prospect for oil on land around Toliara and the permit to Mobil for offshore prospecting off Morondava are now in progress.

The oil prospecting at Sakaraha (Toliara) is being done by the aeromagnetic method, which involves studying the variations in the earth's magnetic field using ultramodern equipment capable of detecting and recording from the air the underground strata in the Toliara area.

Using the data, it will be possible to produce a chart that will help Malagasy and American engineers decide exactly where to start the drilling, which will be the second phase of the prospecting.

The Toliara project is 2 weeks ahead of the Morondava project, which has just begun the first phase of prospecting. An important shipment has just been unloaded, including gas for the welding, acid, outboard motors, batteries and cement for the markers.

The ship TW-Nelson is bringing the rest of the supplies for this first phase, which will take 45 to 60 days. In contrast to the Toliara method, the prospecting at Morondava is by the seismic method from a boat. Here, too, a chart will be prepared of the sea sub-bottom using electromagnetic waves transmitted by the TW-Nelson. In both the Morondava and Toliara projects there will be coordination between the technicians of the National Military Office for Strategic Industries (OMNIS) and the Americans before undertaking the second phase of prospecting, which will probably start in April.

Why Western and Southern Madagascar?

It may be asked why western and southern Madagascar have been selected for prospecting. We know that similar prospecting has already been done by SPM, TOTAL, etc, thus this is only a continuation. However, OMNIS cannot be accused of depending on old prospecting results. We know only that the west and south have sedimentary strata containing sandstone, clay and limestone, and the permeability of these strata leads us to hope that one fine day we will find the "pot of gold."

The government has put the south and west at the top of its development priorities.

RAMGOOLAM WARNS AGAINST LOSS OF INDEPENDENCE

Port-Louis THE NATION in French 16 May 82 pp 1,8

[Article: "Sir Seewoosagur Ramgoolam: 'Let Not Mauritius Become the Lebanon of the Indian Ocean'"]

[Excerpts] "We must at all costs prevent Mauritius from becoming the Lebanon of the Indian Ocean." This appeal was made yesterday by Prime Minister Sir Seewoosagur Ramgoolam, at a meeting of the Labor Party attended by an estimated 5,000 people in Piton-Riviere-du-Rempart. Sir Seewoosagur stated that, by choosing continuity, the voters could save the country from finding itself in a situation like that in Lebanon which is torn daily by civil war and violence.

In a world marked by suffering and violence, Sir Seewoosagur stated, Mauritius should consider itself fortunate to be able to live in peace and harmony, in stability and freedom. "Let's not allow Mauritius to become like Lebanon." Mauritius, Sir Seewoosagur stressed, is admired by many foreign countries in Africa and Asia.

In this respect, Sir Seewoosagur made an appeal for the survival of democracy in this country. He denounced the MMM [Mauritian Militant Movement] who wants to gain an absolute majority so as to install a dictatorship in this country. Quoting the example of Uganda, the prime minister said that, after 12 years of dictatorship under Idi Amin, the country is now in distress and ruined.

This is what the MMM wants to impose on the country, when individual freedom, the freedom of the press and the right of association are not [as published] respected, like in Seychelles and Madagascar. Sir Seewoosagur also remarked that economic ruin always follows dictatorship.

The MMM, Sir Seewoosagur added, advocates nationalizations. But this party has already done away with the free zone, created a climate of instability in the country, and ruined the harbor trade. Is it then on ruins that Mr Paul Berenger will build his nationalization policy, the prime minister asked after affirming that such measures have never worked. Even Mr Samora Machel's Mozambique decided to denationalize after several years of experimentation.

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Sir Seewoosagur once again denounced the MMM who wants to obtain a three-fourth majority at all costs. "To do what? Is it to enable us to wear better shoes or better clothes or to give us a better life, or to put us in a state of slavery in a federation with Seychelles and Madagascar," Sir Seewoosagur exclaimed.

This minority wants to destroy the labor party at all costs. Should it ever succeed, the country would know the fate of the Fidji Island, of Guyana and Surinam. "We can then become orphans. No one will care for us and our future will become very dismal," he told the voters.

Finally, Sir Seewoosagur made a pressing appeal to the audience to support the Labor Party in order to safeguard the country's independence. "The future is very dark. We must safeguard our independence, we must watch over it and be vigilant."

Sir Veerasamy Ringadoo, Dr B. Ghurburrun, Messrs Anand Nundoochand, Anil Baichoo and Comashankar Hawoldar also spoke at the meeting.

9294

CSO: 4719/1014

## MAURITIUS

### OPR LEADER PREDICTS DUVAL DEFEAT IN RODRIGUES

Port Louis LE MAURICIEN in French 24 Apr 82 pp 5, 6

[Interview with Serge Clair, leader of the Organization of Rodrigues People, by Lindsay Riviere; date and place not specified: "OPR: 'One Last Chance for Mauritius' "]

[Question] Serge Clair, with the general elections 7 weeks away, how do things look politically in Rodrigues?

[Answer] The situation in Rodrigues is definitely developing in favor of the OPR [Organization of the People of Rodrigues]. Why? Well, because the OPR really is Rodrigues; the OPR is a whole people seeking for dignity, and integration with equality, with justice, into the Mauritian nation!

The OPR started in 1976, 2 months before the elections. Agreed, we did lose the elections, but it was an opportunity for us to relate our activity to the events of 1976, which enabled us also to organize into not just a political party, but above all, a social, cultural, and economic organization. As a matter of fact the OPR is the most organized party in Rodrigues. We have our political bureau, our central committee, and teams of delegates in the villages. That amounts to a general assembly of 450 delegates in all. In the work we have done, which has been an informational task, we had to start over again from the beginning, explain to people what politics is, what a budget is, what a government is. And today, we realize that the people of Rodrigues constitute a bloc, asserting their identity, their personality, their culture in comparison with the Mauritian people, within the Mauritian nation.

Of course, the PMSD [Mauritian Social Democratic Party] is present, with its policy based chiefly on the belief that Mauritians are able people and that people of Rodrigues are not. That has led certain PMSD speakers, in public, openly to belittle some Rodrigues people, and to attack teachers, policemen, women, and workers of Rodrigues. Under that policy they were forced to show that the people of Rodrigues are incapable, and to show that the two Rodrigues candidates are inferior compared to Duval and Nicol

Francois so that they could get Rodrigues voters to vote for the PMSD. But in the field, the PMSD is up against a new spirit, a new type of Rodriguian, who has been informed, who has been trained, and who is acquainted with all the situations and all the problems existing in Mauritius and all over the world. Our training has been based not only on Rodrigues, but on what is happening in the Indian Ocean, and we have made Rodriguians think about the strategic position of Rodrigues in the Indian Ocean, and the danger that may arise in future if Rodrigues secedes from Mauritius tomorrow. In the present situation, certainly, it cannot be done, for a foreign power would immediately turn its attention to Rodrigues. To advocate secession is to say that Rodriguians will participate in destabilization in the Indian Ocean.

[Question] Do you think there is danger of secession on the PMSD's part?

[Answer] The PMSD has tried to use secession as an argument so that it could try to win the elections. At the beginning, a few months ago, that was its strategy, but now the situation has changed.

The situation now, according to the PMSD, is that it is the OPR that wants to throw the Mauritians out!

So now the policy is one of threats, blackmail. No more secession, then! The policy is an opportunistic one. Over the course of history in Rodrigues we have seen the PMSD bring in a policy of opportunism that is now pro-Rodriguian, now anti-Rodriguian; now for secession, now against secession, and now they are trying to say that it is we Rodriguians who want to throw the Mauritians out. But in Rodrigues, in the present situation, we can have no trust in this opportunistic policy, because the future of a people, like Rodrigues, is a serious matter. A people's future cannot be built on opportunism.

[Question] How do you counter that line of argument?

[Answer] What we are proposing is very simple. We are proposing to Mauritius a mode of existence, a manner of relations between Mauritius and Rodrigues in which Rodriguians will be fully responsible for their country, governing it, working out its plan for development, of course with the help of experts from Mauritius and foreign countries. We are proposing a mode of existence, a manner of relations that will enable Rodriguians to find satisfaction and really have a sense of self-worth within the country.

Independence for Rodrigues, today, does not necessarily imply liberation. That is the question that we have to think about in the present situation. With the world economic crisis, even a year from now, 2 years, 3 years, secession or independence does not mean liberation or freedom for the people of Rodrigues. Now we are looking for a liberation within the territory of Mauritius; that is why, tomorrow, we would like Mauritius to bring in some changes in the constitution, as regards the islands that are part of its territory, perhaps in the form of a federation, or some form of regionalization, under which this little people, these national minorities, would

constitute on their own, not a state within a state, but a financially autonomous government, and if necessary, at that time subsidies would come from Mauritius to make up for what it does not have.

[Question] So between the OPR and the PMSD, there are two radically opposite views of the situation in Rodrigues and of Rodrigues' future?

[Answer] Yes, but the PMSD is proposing secession, which means ties to another country. And what the PMSD is proposing is not realistic. What is realistic is getting the economy of Rodrigues started again. We import 75 million rupees' worth and we export 4 million rupees' worth! And our per capita gross national product is 700 rupees. One hundred dollars! We are classed among the poorest areas on earth. So it is criminal, it is going against human nature to try to say that these people can be independent when the economy is catastrophic, when we are living in an aid-recipient economy, when everything comes from abroad, when we are producing only 4 million rupees' worth. So one must be realistic. Independence is not the right answer.

No what we are saying is that in future independence must be sought within the Mauritian nation, that is what I mean. For me, independence means autonomy within the Mauritian nation. That is what is going to happen tomorrow within Mauritius. There will be decentralization of power, in which some district councils will have certain powers. I think that is what we have to try to get; that is socialism for me.

[Question] Do you have the feeling that the Rodriguians understand what you are proposing?

[Answer] The Rodriguians are coming to understand it bit by bit. There are things that I said 2 years ago that are turning out to be true now. At the meetings, for example, I said "One day Rodrigues will be able to make Mauritius tremble." There were some Rodriguians who did not understand, but when I say it today, they understand it. Why? Because they are growing more and more aware of the strategic position, of the importance of Rodrigues to Mauritius and the Indian Ocean. We are in the process of getting Rodriguians to find out about their power in the Indian Ocean, their power so far as Mauritius is concerned. If Rodrigues has not been developed by this time, it is because there has been no autonomous force in Rodrigues, and that is why the Mauritian government has done nothing but say "We are helping those people, we are doing a bit of development here and there." Secondary education was started only 2 years ago in Rodrigues, so it did not take any interest in Rodrigues because there was no force, there was no opposition in Rodrigues. There has to be a force, and that force today is the OPR, and the Labour Party recognizes it, the MMM/PSM [Mauritian Socialist Party], the RPL [expansion unknown] recognizes it, and even Duval recognizes it, since he is coming to Rodrigues to combat an autonomous force, a local force, a force constituted by Rodriguian brainpower; that is why Duval is obliged because of its very existence to belittle and crush this force, to show that this force is absolutely worthless, that this force can never make any sort of impression on the international level, and that this force can



never be of any significance at the national level in Mauritius.

[Question] Is it your impression that the OPR is already the majority party in Rodrigues?

[Answer] We took a poll that we did not make public. The OPR does have the majority! Even if the PMSD does come in with all its nonsense, we have something to answer it with. Our arguments are strong arguments against what the PMSD is proposing for Rodrigues. The PMSD's arguments are arguments from weakness, colonists' arguments that date back to 1940 or 1930. The PMSD argument in Rodrigues is purely and simply a colonization argument. It tells Rodriguans to their face that they are incapable. But what has the PMSD done the last 14 years, since 1967, for Rodriguans to be capable? For these 14 years the PMSD did not want the Rodriguans to be capable, so that it could keep on exploiting them, and to keep on -- this is the problem -- using their ignorance to win the elections and then ask for secession. In other words, the people of Rodrigues would be used as a tool, quite simply. But this is a people of human beings, with intelligence -- men; they are not tools.

[Question] So in your opinion Duval is beaten in Rodrigues?

[Answer] Duval is beaten in Rodrigues, and he knows it; he knows he is beaten. If Duval runs in Rodrigues, he will be beaten. And his arguments, his meetings, only draw 200 or 300 persons. Duval will be beaten! Incidentally, we are inviting him to come to Rodrigues. Why? Because this fellow who for 14 years, instead of arranging for a path to be made for the people of Rodrigues, continued to keep this people in subjection, so that this people would not compete with the Mauritian people. And that is the PMSD betrayal! In 1967, the Rodriguans voted against independence, that is, against integration. Integration, as Duval knows, has never come about, and that is why, as the years pass, Duval sporadically makes statements like "Rodrigues to France," "Secession of Rodrigues," "independence of Rodrigues"; it has been these statements that have been integrated into the history of Rodrigues that for 14 years has not been integrated into Mauritius. Duval has sentenced this people, that in 14 years has not been integrated, to subjection. Whether it be subjection of the intellect, subjection of the will, social subjection, cultural subjection, or economic subjection. And, I would add, political subjection, because Rodriguans have not taken part in the development of their country. This people has never been integrated, and Duval has done everything he could to stop its being integrated. What the OPR wants to do now is just what the Mauritian people cannot see. The Mauritians, who so far have been criticizing us, saying that the OPR is "anti-Mauritian." Who has been the most anti-Mauritian? That was the PMSD in 1969, pressuring the Rodriguans to pull down the national flag! Who is more anti-Mauritian than Duval, who in 1974, when he broke up the coalition to recover his popularity, used the anti-Mauritian feeling that existed at the time against the Mauritians? In the OPR today, you see, we are aware that Rodrigues cannot be an independent country. Today independence for us means "obliged to depend on another country." And that other

will have its conditions to impose; and a country cannot be for ever dependent on international organizations. We agree with international organizations helping, but for this country to develop, and for this country to avoid becoming a relief recipient of the international organizations. We want peace in the Indian Ocean, but peace in the Indian Ocean is being threatened: the Americans in Diego Garcia, and the Russians looking for their little island too, peace is threatened everywhere. Independence for Rodrigues in the present situation is just not possible! So what do we do? We say: "Be a dependency of Mauritius, yes, but not dependence, but interdependence, a policy of complementarity." For Rodrigues has its own role to play too, in the Mauritian nation! If there are problems to be solved, Rodrigues will also have its share in solving these problems in the Mauritian nation. If there are economic problems, Rodrigues will have a share of them too. We do not want Rodrigues to be tomorrow a country that depends on Mauritius; we want it to be a country participating 100 percent in the development of Mauritius as well as of Rodrigues. So, from this point of view, for Rodrigues to be a part of the Mauritian nation, this people must have responsibility, this people must feel responsible, not feel like a competitor but on the same level as the people of Mauritius. So the reason why we are fighting, in this first stage, is so that the people of Rodrigues, in its intelligence, in its desires, in its ability, in its dignity, will be recognized fully as citizens of Mauritius, able to find solutions for the problems of Mauritius. That is why we are calling for autonomy, and if this autonomy, if the people of Rodrigues feel content with this autonomy, they will not ask for independence. But if tomorrow they do not feel satisfied, and if Mauritius continues to say that "the Rodriguians are incapable," "it is we who manage Rodrigues," there will be trouble! I do not believe, with the young people coming along, studying, going to college, the young people reacting at the PMSD meetings, that Rodriguians will agree to belong to the Mauritian nation later on. So it depends on the Mauritian nation, and on the Mauritian government to do all it can not to lose Rodrigues in the future! How can this be done? Merely by admitting that the people of Rodrigues have the ability, as this country's majority, to manage their country within the Mauritian nation!

[Question] Is the Island Council the preferred forum under autonomy?

[Answer] We should like to have a "regional council." We should like this council to have a say in all laws concerning Rodrigues, in all planning, in education, in health, internal security, in the country's development. The Island Council, in the OPR platform, is the organization that will enable the people of Rodrigues, from the grassroots up, to have access to a certain number of decisions and also to a certain level of consultation. At present, a lot of silly errors and wastefulness have been committed in Rodrigues. Why? Quite simply because Rodriguians were not consulted. And as I see it, that is colonialism continuing today! Colonialism is still sending a resident commissioner who still today monopolizes all decisions, in his hands, the decisions of this or that department, this or that service, and it accentuates colonialism. The post of commissioner must be abolished as soon as possible, because this post represents Mauritian colonialism: it is the very image of colonialism!

[Question] Has the minister for Rodrigues responded to your wishes over the last 5 years?

[Answer] Absolutely not! He was a shadow minister. We did not see him. That minister never approached the people. That minister never made any move toward the masses to ask about even the 300 houses given by the EDF, 7.5 million rupees to build for the disaster victims. Not a single move was made to ask the Rodriguans what they thought about the houses, how the houses should be built, in what setting, what house designs, what needed to be included in the houses. What did they do? They simply made up a plan in Mauritius and then sent it to Rodrigues! And now what is happening? These houses cannot give people shelter during cyclones! Purely and simply! We have quantities of such examples. We have an agriculture head in Rodrigues. For years he has looked after animals and plantations. And now the administration has found a way to take responsibility for animals out of the hands of this Rodriguan and place it in the hands of a Mauritian veterinarian. And when foreign experts arrive, with whom are they in contact? With Mauritians in Rodrigues, and not with Rodriguans or Rodriguan professionals! They are in contact with Mauritian professionals who live here for 1½ years. However one looks at it, all that shows ostracism of this people by Mauritius, by the Mauritian government. Discrimination in connection with the Mauritian government. We are just pointing out all this to tell Mauritius that if these sorts of relations go on, if things do not change, the Rodriguans will be obliged, obliged, I say, for the sake of their dignity, for the sake of their competence, the recognition of their worth, to find the path of independence, to seek it.

We know that that will be disastrous, that it will end in failure for Rodrigues as well as for Mauritius, but it will happen. So we are appealing to the Mauritian government, and to the Mauritian nation, and to the Mauritian people, to change their outlook, their policy toward the people of Rodrigues.

When a Mauritian civil servant says: "In Mauritius, I am MMM, in Rodrigues I am PMSD," what does it mean? What it means, in fact, is that over there he is like a little colonialist! The PMSD is putting up two Mauritians to represent Rodriguans. The Rodriguans themselves are putting up two sincere men, that work with the people. So should we have to vote for those Mauritians, because they are two Mauritians? Civil servants are not going to vote for the Rodriguans, because the Rodriguans are Rodriguans. I really mean this: there are Mauritians who do not agree, who will not agree later on, to there being a Rodriguan deputy or a Rodriguan minister, or to having supervisors assigned by the Rodriguan minister. In that case I am telling Mauritians: "If you do not recognize Rodriguans as Mauritian citizens, even though they have been educated to the same level as Berenger, Duval, Ramgoolam, Blackburn and the rest, that means that you consider us as separated from this nation, as inferiors, as an outcast minority." Then I tell those spreading rumors in Rodrigues and Mauritius that "the OPR is against Mauritius" that we are rendering them a great service by fighting the PMSD in Rodrigues! We are doing a service to the Mauritian people, which perhaps does not realize the wealth of its territory, whereas we in

Rodrigues are aware of the wealth of the Mauritian territory. We are fighting against a party that wants Rodrigues' secession tomorrow, the break-up of Mauritian territory, and that we ourselves are fighting for integration, but with autonomy within the Mauritian nation that will satisfy us in all respects, as regards intelligence, decision-making, purpose, and participation in the development of the country.

[Question] Do you feel that you are better understood by the present opposition than by the government?

[Answer] The OPR has always chosen the method of dialogue. We are a minority, we see that we are a national minority, and that if this national minority does not choose the method of dialogue, this minority runs the risk of being subjected later to some sort of repression, we do not know by whom. So we have chosen the method of dialogue. Since the OPR has existed in Rodrigues, we have had several meetings with Mauritian political parties. We have met MMM/PSM leaders, we have met Labour Party leaders, including Sir Seewoosagur Ramgoolam in person; we have met Mr Blackburn, but the only party with which we will not have discussions, and we are quite right to say this, is the PMSD, because it considers us worthless, it tells us we are not competent; we are not competent, so we will not approach it. The opposition is coming more and more to recognize the OPR and Rodrigues.

[Question] Is that how its decision not to run candidates against you is to be interpreted?

[Answer] I have found out that the Labour Party will not run candidates against the OPR either. And if the Labour Party does not do it, and if the MMM does not do it, it is for the same reason. It is a very simple reason: they do not want to lose Rodrigues. By putting up candidates in Rodrigues, they will automatically be fighting the OPR, which is a local party. They will come in like a colonialist force, like an imperialistic force, so they will drive the Rodriguans to the wall! They will be forced to find fault with Rodriguans, just like the PMSD, they will be forced to act like the PMSD, and then there is a serious danger of losing Rodrigues in that case. And I believe that the MMM/PSM, the Labour Party, the REL, and the Francois party have made the right decision, the realistic decision, otherwise they will stir up even more the spirit of independency in Rodrigues. Is it to their advantage to arouse the spirit of independency in Rodrigues?

[Question] In the event of an MMM/PSM victory in Mauritius and an OPR victory in Rodrigues, do you expect to be asked to take part in the government?

[Answer] From our integration viewpoint, Rodrigues is like a child learning to walk. The OPR grew up in Rodrigues, we are now an adult party, and we have to go forward stage by stage. We go forward in stages, how? Our policy is exactly that the OPR be able to make its contribution, participate, in the development of Mauritius as well as of Rodrigues. We see that the present situation is catastrophic because in the present situation there are human beings at stake, and that is why I say that in the present situation,

ideology must be relegated to the background. In Rodrigues as in Mauritius, people aspire to living better, the people aspire to jobs, to eating properly, to being properly organized, in freedom. In Rodrigues there are people living on 50 rupees a month, with three or four children. The country's economy is catastrophic, there is disorder in land distribution. There is no more government aid for farmers, fishermen, or stock-breeders. The country is disorganized. There is no more economic organization, no more trade organization, no more social organization, everything is disorganized. So in situations like the present ones, what can be done? Would it not be dishonest of the OPR to stand aside? Since we have adopted the method of dialogue, dialogue does not only occur through speech; dialogue occurs also through action, collaboration, cooperation. In that case, we say to the government that will be in office tomorrow that we are ready to offer our contribution.

Without the OPR, the government in office will not be able to bring change to Rodrigues, or a change in the relationship between Mauritius and Rodrigues. The OPR will be the link between Mauritius and Rodrigues. The OPR will be the driving force for integration, the OPR will be there to make possible the new life, the new mode of existence, the new style of relations between Mauritius and Rodrigues. And that is why it will be reasonable for the party in office to welcome the OPR when the OPR offers its intelligence, offers its organization for Rodrigues, offers its competence, its program for Rodrigues. Our program, incidentally, was appreciated by all the political parties, and even by Sir Seewoosagur Ramgoolam, who congratulated us on our program. Which means that all this country's political parties recognize the OPR's program, except, of course, the PMSD! And that leads us to believe that there is a change taking place within the political parties, in the minds of politicians with respect to Rodrigues. What has made that possible, to save the Mauritian nation, is this local, regional force that is the OPR. But for this force, the party in office would have had some problems within Rodrigues. There had always been criticisms of the Mauritian government, there would always be anti-Mauritian feeling. But here we are proposing a way of liberation, a way of freedom within the Mauritian nation. There must not be slaves within the Mauritian nation. But the people of Rodrigues have been slaves of the Mauritian nation, and that is why they have never been integrated. Integration is carried out through liberation. Every people, every community here gives for it, and when every community has become free, then we shall have the Mauritian nation. Liberation means respect for each other, a meritocracy, seeing and looking in the same direction together, with a common goal, the common good. That is when Mauritius will feel that it is being internally liberated. And why we are not liberated today. Because we are oppressed by a people which is not internally free. The Mauritians have to learn to free themselves, and that is why they are crushing us, because they are not free! And in the same way, the proof is parochialism! They are not free, and tomorrow we will refuse after the OPR victory to continue to be the victims of that mentality. We will not accept Mauritius' continuing to oppress us through its civil servants, its structure, its police, its socio-economic system. No, and no again! The liberation of Rodrigues, that is what the OPR's role is. That is why I say that Rodrigues is doing Mauritius a great service, and it is

the Rodriguan people that is going to help the Mauritian people free itself later on. That is why we overthrew the plan with the result that today the Rodriguans have been dependent on Mauritius for 14 years. We will not become a district or a dependency again, we will become an integral part of this territory, taking a positive role in all problems, in the solutions to the problems of the Mauritian nation. We offer ourselves as a country bringing solutions, participating through our intelligence, our competence, our culture at the standard of the Mauritian nation. That is the path we want to choose. We thought this path would enable Rodriguans to find satisfaction within the country rather than seeking a path to independence that would enable another country to then recolonize Rodrigues in cultural, social, economic, and political terms.

But we will give Mauritius one last chance, and it is the last chance we shall give: if Mauritius will not understand what we want to do, does not understand the service that we want to give it, and if Mauritius continues in the same way that it has chosen the past 14 years, and if the Labour Party allows the PMSD to go in in this way, well, then, the people of Rodrigues will tell the Mauritian nation: "You do not like us, and if you do not like us, that means be off with you, go away. Then we shall make a decision."

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TV-RADIO TIME ALLOTTED TO PARTIES

Port-Louis LE MAURICIEN in French 14 May 82 p 1

[Article: "Free Political Broadcasts on Radio and TV From 24 May to 10 June"]

[Text] PAN [expansion unknown]: 168 minutes; MMM [Mauritian Militant Movement]/PSM [Mauritian Socialist Party]: 156 minutes; PMSD [Mauritian Social Democratic Party]: 124 minutes.

First and last broadcasts offered to PAN.

During conversations this morning, between the MBC-TV [Mauritius Broadcasting and Television Corporation] and political party leaders, Mr Jean Delaitre, general manager of MBC-TV offered free radio and television time as follows:

PAN: 168 minutes  
MMM/PSM: 156 minutes  
PMSD: 124 minutes  
PIM [expansion unknown]: 20 minutes  
UDM [Mauritian Democratic Union]: 12 minutes  
OPF [Organization of the Rodrigues People]: 4 minutes on the radio.

The MMM/PSM, we were told, found the MBC-TV offers "acceptable and reasonable." However, objections were raised at this morning's meeting--from which PAN representatives were absent--against another MBC-TV offer. This offer would give the first and last broadcasts to the PAN. New conversations on this matter are scheduled for next week.

The MMM/PSM suggested that after 10 June no paid political advertising be authorized on radio or television.

This morning, the MMM/PSM was represented by Messrs Paul Berenger, Jean-Claude de l'Estrac, Armoogum Parsuramen and Karl Offman; the PMSD by Messrs Gaetan Duval, Arnold Bouquet and Monaf Fakira.

The PMSD protested the allocation of 4 minutes of radio time to the OPR.

The broadcasts will take place from 19:30 to 20:00 on the radio, and from 20:00 to 20:30 on television, from Monday 24 May to Thursday 10 June.

JUGNAUTH PREDICTS VICTORY FOR MMM-PSM

Port Louis LE NOUVEAU MILITANT in French 6 Apr 82 pp 1, 4

[Interview with MMM President Aneerood Jugnauth by Darma Mootien; date and place not given]

[Text] We offer you today the first in a series of interviews we plan to hold with some MMM-PSM [Mauritian Socialist Party] leaders who will be called upon to assume ministerial responsibilities if they win victory on 11 June.

Aneerood Jugnauth, the future prime minister if an MMM-PSM government is formed, gives us his views here on the political, economic and social situation. He has no doubt that a wave of change will sweep out the corrupt regime we have today. Anything else would mean a catastrophe for the island of Mauritius.

Once put in power, the MMM-PSM will devote itself to purging Mauritius of the political corruption from which it suffers. It will focus its efforts on launching our economy again and creating as many jobs as possible. Unemployment compensation will be granted to those who are temporarily without work.

Finally, Aneerood Jugnauth said he is ready to assume the serious responsibilities which will be his in the future.

[Question] Aneerood Jugnauth, you are president of the MMM and leader of the MMM-PSM alliance, and you will be prime minister if a leftist government is formed after 11 June. How do you assess your chances, first a few weeks away from a popular vote?

[Answer] It is obvious that all the surveys predict our triumph in the coming general elections. The surveys made by the government itself indicate that the MMM-PSM alliance will carry the day by an overwhelming majority. I am personally convinced that a great wave of change will sweep out the present regime on 11 June.

[Question] Your opponents accuse you of claiming victory too soon.

[Answer] Absolutely not. We are stating a fact, that is all. However, it is a fact that our ardor will not decline in the least. We will continue to wage an intensive campaign, and at an accelerated pace.



[Question] While one observes this calm in the MMM-PSM alliance, chaos seems to have developed among your opponents. What is your feeling about this right-wing alliance?

[Answer] Where our position with regard to our opponents is concerned, it has always been clear to us that they have a common interest and that they will rally despite the numerous differences which divide them. The reason is that they are defending all their personal interests. Where the laborites are concerned, they are doing everything to ensure a return to power. For years it has been our assessment that in the coming elections, two blocs will clash: the MMM-PSM on the one hand, and our right-wing adversaries on the other. The facts today prove how just our analysis was.

The right-wing alliance has but one concern: to win the elections. How to govern the country afterward? This seems to be the least of their concerns. In any case, it does not take much imagination to see in advance how they would undertake to govern. One has only to cast a glance backward, over the five years just elapsed in particular. And yet the coalition was only made up of three partners: the PT [Labor Party], the PMSD [Mauritian Social Democratic Party] and the CAM [Moslem Action Committee]. Today there is Duval's PMSD, the PM headed by Francois, Blackburn's RPL and Peeroo's CAM.

I wonder about and I fear the confusion such a coalition will create, as well as how the country will be governed if by misfortune this right wing wins power. In such a case, it will be 5 years of suffering which will await us.

[Question] Chaos, then, on the other side. But is the MMM-PSM solid? Are there not certain shadows?

[Answer] The MMM-PSM alliance experiences no doubt: 100 percent confidence prevails among us. We will go to the polls together, and we will govern together after 11 June.

#### — A New Political Practice

[Question] With 11 June just a few weeks away, how do you as future prime minister view the political, economic and social situations? What will the priorities of the MMM-PSM government be?

[Answer] On the political level, our priority task will be the consolidation of democracy. We will banish this immorality which has invaded our political mores and the dishonesty affecting the political class once and for all.

We will develop a new state of mind and a new political practice.

We will reestablish the partial and regional elections. We will give priority to submitting for a vote a law formally prohibiting defection.

It is inconceivable that a deputy elected under one party banner should move through the ranks and find himself overnight in another camp, thus rejecting his convictions of yesterday.

Naturally, it is desirable for a deputy to be able to agree with his own party, in which case he should resign from the parliament and present himself again to the voters under the banner of his choice. That is true democracy.

[Question] What about the economic priorities?

[Answer] The priority here will be launching our economy again. We must put matters in order, clean house. We will campaign without mercy against waste and corruption.

We will, moreover, have to review our system of development and industrialization. We will place the emphasis on an energy policy and a raw materials policy.

[Question] What about the social level?

[Answer] Unemployment remains the most acute social problem at present. We will find the means to create jobs and we have reiterated that in a civilized society it is inconceivable that citizens should remain permanently unemployed. It must, at the worst, be only temporary, and during this period, a policy of adequate and just unemployment compensation will be pursued.

Our opponents accuse us of failing to publish our figures. We would respond to them that we are serious and that we are drafting a plan, and we are confident that the means of achieving it exist.

[Question] What stages must be accomplished and what time periods will be needed to put all this into practice?

[Answer] It is clear and obvious that the first thing to be done will be to put the affairs of Mauritius in order, and this alone will take us almost a year. In order to attack the bases of our programs seriously, we must allow 2 years. Where the nationalizations mentioned in our program are concerned, they will be carried out. Naturally, there will be problems. If we are forced to pay compensation for the nationalizations all at once and in terms of real values, we will have serious problems. This is why we want to change this specific provision of the constitution such as to allow us to make compensation payments in installments.

[Question] If the MMM-PSM is not guaranteed three-quarters of the seats such as to allow it to amend the constitution, what will happen to the MMM-PSM program, which some people believe hinges on the nationalization issue?

[Answer] Apart from the nationalizations, the program includes many other proposals. We will then begin with them. We will nationalize when we have the means of doing so.

#### Concerning Communism

[Question] The secretary general has spoken of a sector totaling 10 percent of the electorate which is undecided. It is obvious that one component of this 10 percent sector is the small and average bourgeoisie which usually allow themselves to be drawn into the right-wing campaign concerning the "communism" of the MMM-PSM.

[Answer] I have always said and I know what all of my friends are. Despite the fact that their sources of information are heavily racially based, we are all unanimous today in wanting to establish a form of socialism acceptable to Mauritian society. All of us in the leadership have opposed communism as it is generally conceived and as it exists in the USSR and elsewhere. Why have we opposed this form of communism? Because we are in favor of freedoms and guarantees of respect for the basic liberties.

This is why I ask the Mauritians who pose questions about our real nature to read our program. And I give you my word that we will respect our program and that in our program there is nothing truly "communist."

[Question] Concerning the right-wing alliance, Duval says that "the solution lies on the right," and some labor leaders would have it believed that they are "socialists." And yet there will be a Duval-PT alliance. How do you interpret this situation?

[Answer] For us there is a reason we could never reach agreement with the PMSD, and here I would like the citizens of Mauritius to be aware of a fact. In 1976, after the results were learned, the first contact the PMSD made was with the MMM, saying that it was necessary to correct Ramgoolam's policy. But we gave them a categorical no: there was absolutely no question for us of allying with a party whose ideas do not coincide with ours.

This is to explain to you that in our view it is a right-wing government which has governed us for these past 5 years. And we know what it has made of Mauritius today.

We have been independent for 14 years and yet we are dominated by neocolonialism. There are two blocs in the world. On the one hand we have the capitalist countries, and on the other, the communist states. They are clashing in a war of influence. Where we are concerned, we should have nothing to do with them. We will pursue a neutral and Third-World policy. And it is for this reason that on the economic and political levels we must at all costs avoid affiliation with one bloc or another as is currently the case.

#### No Hope of Labor Party Change

[Question] The leader of the Labor Party, Sir Seewoosagur Ramgoolam, speaks of change in his party. With the help of foreign experts, he wants to place young individuals on its slate of candidates.

[Answer] With or without young individuals, the Labor Party will remain what it is. To seek to put in young people and to have it believed that change has occurred is nothing but a purely electoral tactic to deceive the citizens of Mauritius. For the PT leadership will never change. It will pursue the same policy it has pursued for 14 years. Moreover, Ramgoolam will never surrender his place as long as he lives. There is no hope of change with the Labor Party.

[Question] How do you, who have traveled to the four corners of Mauritius and met with many people, assess the state of mind of the people?

[Answer] We have been noting for a long time that the vast majority of Mauritians want change, and change there will be on 11 June.

[Question] But your opponents have not had their last word. They still have the communal map....

[Answer] Listen, I think that three-quarters of the Mauritian people have realized that this communal map our opponents are using today is a map of despair.

The Labor Party believes that by pursuing this shameful policy it can succeed in making the Hindus believe it is defending their interests. But I am persuaded that the Hindus are not so stupid as to believe that this government is one which favors them. For they know what an independent nation is. They know that Mauritius is a nation, and that the country belongs to all citizens of Mauritius. There cannot be a government here which works for one community only. We need a national government.

On the other hand, we have Duval claiming to be the sole and only representative of the general population. But by what right, I wonder! He is certainly forgetting that this is no longer 1967, that we are independent today, and that there is only one interest which counts--that of the Mauritian nation.

[Question] In just that connection, does the MMM-PSM fear facing a Ramgoolam/Duval alliance?

[Answer] Absolutely not. We reiterate that it is to our side that the people have rallied. On the contrary, such an alliance could only work in our favor.

[Question] Aneerood Jugnauth, if all goes well, you will be prime minister on 12 June. What is your state of mind today?

[Answer] I am serene and calm. I am ready to assume all my responsibilities, and I will do so fully.

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CSO: 4719/916

BERENGER ANSWERS READERS' QUESTIONS ON MMM PLANS

Port Louis HORIZONS NOUVEAUX in French 1-9 May 82 pp 12-14

[Interview with Paul Berenger, secretary general of the MMM, in the form of questions mailed in by readers]

[Text] HORIZONS NOUVEAUX has attempted -- successfully -- a new experiment in the field of journalism: interviewing a politician by means of questions sent in by readers, thereby affirming its profound conviction that a newspaper is above all the expression of its readers and not, as people tend to believe, of public opinion "specialists," who often confuse their concerns with those of the people. However, like any other new experiment, the one we have attempted and whose results can be read on these pages posed practical problems.

Our readers often went beyond the framework that we had set up for questions to be put to our first guest, which undoubtedly proves the need to organize similar dialogues in order to enable the people to question public figures on subjects that concern them and that are often ignored. The rarely consulted silent majority is eager for answers to questions concerning them directly. We are printing letters that reveal this frame of mind. The first, while exhibiting a disarming naivete, nevertheless expresses an (exaggerated) anxiousness fed by the hysterical anticommunist propaganda.

In contrast, the second letter explains a dramatic reality experienced by workers who for years have suffered from scandalous exploitation. For them, our journalistic experiment will have provided an unexpected means to make themselves heard and to tell of unimaginable living conditions. However, the most important thing is without a doubt the palpable hope which that worker, long a victim, places in a change in society.

If only to provide those without a voice with a chance to make themselves heard -- and, we hope, heeded -- this type of interview will become a continuing feature in our columns.

In order to facilitate future interviews, we ask our readers to respect the confines of the subjects indicated. Obviously, all questions deserve answers, but unfortunately, our lack of space forces us into a certain discipline that must be obeyed. For this first interview, we grouped questions and put them into a precise framework, the reason why we could not publish the names of the reader-interviewers.

In the future, therefore, readers are asked to be precise in their questions and abstain from these kinds of questions: "What reprisals will be taken against X?" The next guests of the readers of HORIZONS NOUVEAUX will be Jean-Claude de l'Estract, future minister of foreign affairs and PSM [Malagasy Socialist Party] spokesman on agricultural questions.

[Question] Mr Berenger, the election campaign is in full swing. It is going as the MMM had planned?

[Answer] To date, yes, absolutely, despite the efforts of some of our adversaries, including the PT [Labor Party], the PIM [expansion unknown] and the Francois Group in particular, to play the communal card. It is not working. Regarding tension and election violence, except for the terrorism aimed at Eliezer Francois himself, things are going very well.

[Question] What will become of the party after a future takeover by the MMM-PSM alliance, insofar as the leaders will occupy ministerial posts? Are there persons to take your place?

[Answer] Yes. We have thought about this and have been planning for years. Naturally, we shall spell things out as the elections approach. In the assembly of delegates on Sunday, a decision was made that another delegate meeting will be held as soon as possible after 11 June so that, given the possibility of an MMM-PSM victory, a new Central Committee will be elected and a new president and secretary general will be chosen.

[Question] To what extent will MMM members be able to participate in government decisions?

[Answer] Obviously through the MMM, but through other means also. But we are determined -- and this must come about -- that after 11 June, the MMM will be an even more organized party, a party more linked to the far corners of the country than it now is. I am sure that through its president and secretary general, this party will be heard.

[Question] Commenting on the withdrawal of Lalit de Klas from the MMM, you said that you were "neither happy nor unhappy." Can you explain?

[Answer] Lalit de Klas was a faction in the MMM for years. It does not really make any difference whether it be a faction at home rather than a party abroad because our comrades in Lalit de Klas are absolutely sincere and especially, very disciplined socialists. I am sure that we shall continue to be traveling companions who have known one another for a long time. I would add that when I made that remark, it was somewhat fatalistic. For some time, I had thought it was inevitable that things would turn out that way.

[Question] Despite precautions taken in 1976, some persons elected under the MMM banner have been tempted by the government or have given free rein to their personal appetites. How does the MMM intend to prevent this type of situation from recurring? Can it?

[Answer] We have already prevented it naturally. In 1976, we took all the precautions we could take, but in 1976, we had candidate problems in certain districts. The situation was totally different in 1982. Whether it be with respect to the MMM or the PSM, we have had a large range of choices and were therefore able to choose and present a team in which we think we can have complete confidence.

[Question] Can the organs of the MMM revoke an MMM deputy who acts against party interests?

[Answer] No. Members cannot recall a deputy. They can kick him out of the MMM or take any other disciplinary measure necessary or that might be necessary, but as a deputy, no, obviously not. We have the constitution of Mauritius and there would be the amendments that we intend to make, but none of this allows the recall of a deputy by those who did not elect him, in the final analysis.

[Question] In order to build socialism in Mauritius, the active participation of the people is essential. What will be the policy of the MMM/PSM regarding social organizations and district committees? Can you tell us how the MMM will go about it to ensure the slogan "Power to the People," which it has taken as its own since its formation? Does it intend to set up people's institutions in order to allow the people to determine their own future within the framework, let us say, of a direct democracy?

[Answer] We are going to do everything possible to allow the people, in the villages, cities, on the job and elsewhere, to take their destiny in their own hands. This explains why we shall replace the repressive laws limiting the expression of freedom, in terms of expression, association and assembly. Therefore, we shall replace the POA [Public Order Act] and the IRA [Industrial Relations Act]. We have already stated our intention of building socialism, relying above all on the rise of trade unions and cooperatives. All social organizations will also be encouraged, along with district committees, especially within the framework of a true regional democracy. I can imagine 20,000 other ways in which the Mauritian people will increasingly take their destiny into their own hands in their districts and at their places of work.

[Question] It is obvious that the right and imperialism will make no gifts to a leftist government; there is no dearth of examples to prove this. How will an MMM/PSM government react to pressure from the right: economic boycotts, attempted coups, and so on?

[Answer] We do not foresee any coups, but we shall take every necessary precaution as if we needed aid from other countries with respect to security. From India, for example, aid would certainly be available to an MMM/PSM government. But we believe that this risk of a coup or of destabilization coming from the outside does not exist at this stage, will not be posed and that at any rate, the Mauritian Armed Forces and police would be absolutely loyal under an MMM/PSM government and would be able to meet any destabilization attempt from the outside. As for an economic boycott, we do not plan any direct action by any country. But we shall continue to follow the situation closely

and we shall take every possible precaution and deal ourselves the best hand through our diplomatic contacts today and after 11 June, in government.

[Question] Communalism appears to be a Mauritian reality. What will the position of an MMM/PSM government be with respect to appointments to key posts?

[Answer] As we have already stated on many occasions, we want to govern through a system of merit, but we must see such a "meritocracy" at work, not only in the paragovernment corps and the central government, but in the private sector as well. One cannot see only half of the problem. One must view the problem as a whole and therefore ensure that merit will reign in all sectors.

[Question] After the conflictual working arrangement, the new deal, the MMM proposes the new social consensus. What will a future MMM/PSM government do if the private sector refuses to cooperate?

[Answer] I have already said that an MMM/PSM government will not be a neutral, impartial government. It will be a government in the field of the wage earners and trade unions. Having said that, we are already spelling out the very important role which business executives and investors will be called upon to play. We know that the majority of the business executives, entrepreneurs and investors will not vote for the MMM/PSM and do not approve of our socialist program, but we believe that the overwhelming majority will respect the verdict of the people and will play the game during the 5 years between the 1982 and 1977 elections. We do not foresee any economic sabotage on the part of the local private sector, but if this should be the case, we would naturally take the proper measures, as elected officials of the people, with the support of the workers and trade unions.

[Question] Most of the country's poor and deprived, disgusted by the policies of this regime, place their hope in the MMM. As secretary general of the MMM, how do you expect to meet the aspirations of these oppressed people?

[Answer] They have many aspirations, but the most urgent ones have to do with the country's economic realities. I shall therefore answer your question within the framework of the 1982-1983 budget which I shall present in the month of July. We have the firm intention of keeping our commitments, whether it be a question of unemployment compensation, the PRB [expansion unknown], the restoration, insofar as possible, of purchasing power and the extra month's bonus to those not receiving it, and our commitments to society, especially to the disabled, the old, retired persons, those receiving social benefits, orphanages and old people's homes. At the same time, we must get the economy going again. We shall also satisfy other aspirations, aspirations toward morality in politics, a clean, moral society. We shall meet their aspirations for a true democracy, a regional democracy. We shall meet the people's aspirations for a reform of education in their interest, and finally, we shall satisfy the people's aspiration that the island of Mauritius, with regard to India, Algeria, France and so many other self-respecting countries in the world, regain its dignity. We shall also meet that aspiration.



[Question] In a possible MMM/PSM government, you would head two important ministries: Finance and Labor. Why?

[Answer] For reasons of personal experience. As everyone knows, I was the negotiator for the GWF [General Workers Federation] for a long time and I am therefore very close to our wage earners. At the same time, I was for years responsible, in the MMM, for financial and economic matters, especially budget questions. We thought it would be necessary, at least for a certain period of time, because I do not believe that I could, or that it would be healthy for me to, occupy two posts for a long time. In the early months, the first six months or so, we thought it would be necessary, just long enough to restore order in the financial domain, for the person in charge of finance to already enjoy considerable good will from wage earners so that the dialogue indispensable in the early months might truly exist. I did not happily accept these two heavy responsibilities, but I believe that the economic heritage that we are going to find requires that sacrifice on my part.

[Question] Do you not believe that this centralism might further slow down the already too cumbersome government machinery?

[Answer] It is rather the opposite that we want and that has brought us to concentrate these two ministries into a single one, precisely in order to be able to handle things immediately and settle the problems that will be posed immediately as rapidly as possible.

[Question] The MMM repeats that it will inherit a catastrophic economic situation. Based on this view, how are you drawing up the next government budget?

[Answer] The next budget can definitely not be a traditional budget because, on the one hand, we must and are going to keep our commitments of which I just spoke. Furthermore, we must present a budget for economic recovery. That is why, as I have said, the psychological dimensions of the coming budget will be essential. The government and I, personally, as minister of finance and labor, must bring off a double coup: first of all, with respect to wage earners and workers, by setting an example, by getting the country going again, by obtaining greater productivity and effort on the job because of the example from above, but at the same time, with respect to business heads, investors, entrepreneurs. That is the challenge we must try to meet in the budget speech to be presented in July, demonstrating great imagination. We shall resort to measures expressing that imagination in government.

[Question] The IMF, which virtually governs the country, has on several occasions recommended to the regime that it cut public spending. Knowing that that organization has control of international finance, what will be the new monetary and fiscal policy of a possible MMM/PSM government, based on consultations which the MMM/PSM has had, or will have, with the private sector and with the taxpayers' representatives?

[Answer] We are moving forward with the measures recommended in our government program, whether it be a matter of taxes on large fortunes, amendments to the tax on large inheritances, and so on. With respect to the IMF and the World

Bank, it is clear that with respect to them, our policies must be aimed at providing ourselves with the greatest possible room to maneuver. Certainly, we cannot break with the World Bank or the IMF and that is not our intention, but we want to obtain room to maneuver as soon as possible. We are not going to accept the traditional austerity measures that the IMF proposes or rather, that it often imposes on many Third World countries. For example, we know that they are now putting pressure so that there will be no more free education beginning with the third form. For us, there can be no question of backing down on these aspects of education and these social expenditures in Mauritius. In our program, we are already presenting a series of measures aimed at reducing spending by eliminating waste and by structural reforms. Furthermore, we want to increase revenue by eliminating tax evasion, customs fraud and other methods causing the government to lose hundreds of thousands of rupees. We believe that we shall have to present a recovery budget that does not stint on essential social expenditures.

[Question] The MMM/PSM proposes to nationalize two sugar mills and 20,000 arpents of land. Where will it find the money to pay the compensation? According to the constitution, all compensation for nationalizations can be transferred to any foreign country. This would therefore be a capital drain harmful to the economy. How will the MMM/PSM overcome this problem?

(Editor's note: This question was put by Amba Chinien, Labor candidate in the elections.)

[Answer] If we are seeking a three-fourths majority of the seats, it is in order to amend the constitution in order to restore partial elections in order to make Mauritius a republic, but also in order to amend the clause dealing with nationalization so that we can pay compensations over a long period of time, from 20 to 25 years. Naturally, especially in the case of small shareholders, there will be initial sums to be paid out of the government's budget. As for payment of compensation, our firm intention is, insofar as possible, to pay from the profits made by the nationalized enterprises themselves. The government will not be involved unless it has to be. If we do not have three-fourths of the seats, then we shall wage a national campaign. We shall choose our time and the exact theme: Are we going to propose amendments covering several subjects: republic, partial elections, nationalizations, or are we going to proceed by choosing a particular theme? We shall wage a campaign throughout the country, in the great mass meetings, through the trade unions, a national dialogue on MBC/TV [Mauritius Broadcasting Corporation], and then we shall confront the opposition with its responsibilities. I do not believe that the opposition would take a position that would condemn it in the eyes of the voters and we shall not hesitate to make it pay the price by returning to the voters if we have to.

[Question] It is thought that the nationalization of two mills will undoubtedly permit a substantial improvement in working conditions. Workers at the un-nationalized plants will certainly demand an alignment with the same conditions existing in nationalized plants. How does the MMM/PSM intend to proceed?

[Answer] We want to make an example of the plants that will eventually be nationalized in terms of work safety, leisure type, work hygiene. To a certain extent, this will have a snowball effect. It will be the role of the unions and wage earners to extend such advantages to other sectors still in the private domain.

[Question] Where will you find the funds to finance the "controlled and planned" unemployment compensation which the MMM recommends? What practical problems do you foresee?

[Answer] There is an MMM/PSM subcommittee that has worked on this a great deal and that is continuing to work. We are drawing up several scenarios. At one extreme, we would have all those registered as unemployed workers, who would receive the unemployment benefits, and at the other extreme, only heads of family having worked a certain number of years. Between these two extremes would be a whole range of possible scenarios. We shall have to decide which we want in terms of financing. Who will pay for the unemployment benefits? We shall discuss this with business leaders, trade unions and taxpayers. The stronger the source of financing, the more generous the unemployment compensation system will be. What we expect is that as soon as the MMM and the PSM come to power, we shall get the machinery going, with consultations with experts, dialogues with unions, business heads and taxpayers, and we shall then make our proposal. With respect to control, in order to prevent cheating, the problem can be easily settled in Mauritius. Moreover, control is extremely difficult in large countries, but here, without moving to what one might call "police" control, effective measures are possible.

[Question] Your political adversaries predict a third devaluation with the MMM/PSM in power. Do you find this possible if the economic stagnation persists?

[Answer] If the outgoing government returns to power, a third devaluation will take place within three months after the general elections. It is the intention of the MMM and the PSM to do everything to avoid a third devaluation and we think we can.

[Question] Mr Berenger, this interview will be published on 1 May, Labor Day, which reminds us of the struggle of workers throughout the world for the socialization of the means of production. In Mauritius, we have noted a study by Rivet which appeared in LE MAURICIEN, speaking of the third path and the need to make workers partners instead of wage earners. What are your impressions of these two notions and what are the MMM's long-term intentions?

[Answer] To nationalize is precisely to see that the workers are working for their country and themselves. Therefore, for their country and their children and themselves. The great thesis of participation in capital as a pathway to change in society seems illusory to me, but we shall not be against participation in capital in such and such a sector in which the trade unions and wage earners lean in that direction. But for us, participation in capital is not the path that will finally lead to a classless society, a truly socialist society. We think in terms of phases during which the role of the private

sector, the extent of the private sector with respect to the major means of production, will gradually grow smaller. This will take time, as long as necessary.

[Question] The MMM has always worked in close cooperation with the main trade union confederation in Mauritius, the GWF. What will happen if you take power?

[Answer] What we want is for the GWF, like the MMM, to support an MMM/PSM government, to give it powerful, in-depth support, but support that is critical as well. We want the GWF, as a trade union organization, and the MMM, as a political party, to retain their independence so as to be able to exercise that criticism, to retain their independence from the government. I am sure that the GWF will fully play that role.

[Question] Will the revocation of the IRA and the POA not encourage some abuse, particularly on the part of some rightist trade unionists seeking publicity?

[Answer] We trust the good sense of the Mauritian workers and we are satisfied that they will not let themselves be manipulated by anyone, especially the right. The right to strike is a sacred right and there can be no question for us, on the pretext that the right is going to do it, to limit the use of the right to strike through legislation. We shall try to limit the use of the right to strike through out government action meeting the demands of the workers and through the continuing dialogue that we hope to maintain with trade union organizations and wage earners in general.

[Question] What will be the immediate measures on behalf of the workers?

[Answer] The speech from the throne that will probably be presented on 18 June or 22 June will already announce, in general terms, the measures that will be taken in the first year on behalf of wage earners. But it is in the budget speech to be presented in July that specific measures will be proposed in terms of restoring the purchasing power, unemployment compensation, and so on. In our government program, we did not propose that overnight, in the first budget speech, there would be equal wages for equal work, but we shall move in that direction.

[Question] And with respect to the free zone, which deserves special attention?

[Answer] The free zone will play an essential role over the next five years under an MMM/PSM government, with respect to the creation of jobs. Therefore, we have no intention of playing with the free zone, but we do not intend either to allow the rights and dignity of the workers to be trampled. On the contrary, we want to preserve and develop the free zone in order to create the maximum number of jobs possible in the next five years. Other jobs will be created by agricultural diversification, industrialization, by replacing imports, in the cooperatives and in terms of self-help and meeting our own needs, but in the final analysis, it is definitely in the free zone that most jobs can be created. That is a hard truth to swallow, but it is a truth we shall have to live with.

PSMD SUPPORT OF LP PROMISED

Port-Louis LE MAURICIEN in French 17 May 82 pp 1,4

[Article: "'The PSMD Would Support the Formation of a Minority Government by the Labor Party Under Certain Well-Defined Conditions'"]

[Text] The PSMD [Mauritian Social Democratic Party] may help the Labor Party to regain power by forming a minority government, should the MMM [Mauritian Militant Movement]/PSM [Mauritian Socialist Party] coalition not obtain the minimum number of seats required to form a government; the PSMD support would be subject to severe conditions, among others it would demand the implementation of the main points of its election platform. Otherwise, the PSMD would "take its responsibilities" on the side of the opposition. However, the PSMD would not participate in a coalition government with the Labor Party as it has done three times in the past.

Such is the outcome of debates which PSMD members had yesterday afternoon with members of the Intermovement which includes associations of the Diocesan Center for the Labor World (CDMO). At this meeting, the PSMD was represented by three of its candidates, Messrs Nanda Kistnen, Noel Langevin, Marc Hein, and by two other party organizers, Messrs Antoine Domingue and L. Ramsamy; some 50 CDMO representatives were present.

The debates, which took place in "an atmosphere of understanding and openness," are part of a series of meetings organized by CDMO leaders with representatives of various political parties who will stand for election on 11 June. The PSMD was the first party to accept participating in these debates. The Labor Party and the MMM have accepted, in principle, to meet with CDMO members during the next few days.

First, Mr Marc Hein talked briefly about the PSMD program and stressed the measures which the party intends to take, should it accede to power, in order to improve the economy, create new jobs and diversify agriculture. After Mr Hein's statement, PSMD representatives had to answer rapid-fire questions, some of which very pertinent. Several times, the PSMD organizers tried to evade certain questions concerning corruption and waste by asking the audience to "ask these questions from the Labor Party." But when it came to the PSMD

government program, they did their utmost to convince the audience that the major projects it includes can be realized. By reducing administrative waste, the state could save 1 billion rupees per year and use it to finance the creation of some 30,000-40,000 jobs, they explained. Graduates and manual laborers could be hired by the tourism industry, in agriculture, the free zone and education. Concerning education, the party suggests to organize refresher courses to enable the teachers to "provide better teaching." Along the same line, a flying squad of unemployed graduates would be organized to substitute for the teachers following these refresher courses.

When asked about the recreation center which the PMSD intends to open in Mahebourg for foreign soldiers and sailors vacationing in Mauritius, Mr Kistnen declared that this project would make it possible to refill the state treasury and to give new impetus to the hotel industry. In the long run, will not the opening of this center bring some moral degradation? "No," the PMSD leaders answered. On the contrary, the creation of new jobs "will ease the poverty from which many Mauritian families suffer." "The youth and heads of families will work in dignity," they said, "and will not find time to prostitute themselves or get addicted to drugs." Besides, they explained, this recreation center is intended for soldiers and sailors "vacationing with their families." Therefore, they assured, there is no danger of increasing prostitution.

Another important question asked from PMSD representatives: What will the PMSD do to discourage changes in party affiliation? This, they answered, is an evil which has done a lot of harm to our Parliament. But, legally, we cannot do anything to discourage it. The bill which, according to Mr Antoine Domingue, the MMM/PSM coalition (should it come to power) intends to submit to Parliament, would be anti-constitutional. For freedom of expression and of movement is guaranteed by our constitution. Changes in party affiliation, according to the PMSD, is "essentially a moral question."

"Then, how come the PMSD accepted Mr Vijay Jandoosing (a former MMM member) in its ranks," someone in the audience asked. And Mr Marc Hein answered: "Mr Jandoosing was excluded from the MMM, and has never been a member of the Labor Party. Can you prove it was not so!"

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CSO: 4719/1016

REPORTS ON MMM/PSM CAMPAIGN PROMISES

No Strike Notice Necessary

Port-Louis LE MAURICIEN in French 19 May 82 p 4

[Article: "No Strike Notice Would Be Required by an MMM/PSM Government. Strikers Could Not Be Laid-Off"]

[Text] Under an MMM [Militant Mauritian Movement]/PSM [Mauritian Socialist Party] government, any union or group of workers who would decide they had legitimate grounds to go on strike could do so without giving any strike notice, and nobody could then be laid off for going on strike: such was the outcome of the meeting which MMM/PSM leaders had with the United Workers Federation (FTU), one in a series of meetings with unions and professional organizations to examine the possible coming to power of these two parties.

The MMM and the PSM, which were represented by Messrs Paul Berenger and Armoogum Pursuramen, affirmed again that if they come to power they would work "in close collaboration" with the unions and professional bodies and would practice "no discrimination" in favor of any given union. At the meeting, Mr Berenger gave the assurance that an MMM/PSM government would maintain a dialogue with all active forces in the country and do its best to protect the purchasing power of the workers.

Concerning amendments to the Industrial Relations Act (IRA), both parties agreed on several points. The two leaders of the MMM and of the PSU subscribed to the FTU analysis of the IRA. It was also agreed that: (1) the right to strike would become perfectly legal since it is one of the basic rights of the workers; (2) no restriction of the right to strike would be tolerated; (3) nobody could be laid off for striking; (4) no strike notice would be required, contrary to the present situation; (5) the power which the prime minister now has to decree that a strike is illegal would be abolished; (6) a court could order the reinstatement of a worker unjustly laid off, should he make such a request; (7) the procedure for union approval should be accelerated in order to enable workers to be represented and protected by unions of their choice.

In this context, it was decided that the powers of the Industrial Relations Commission (IRC) and those of the National Remuneration Board (NRB) would be increased. The decisions of these two authorities would be binding on the parties involved in a dispute, as those of the standing arbitration court already are. It was also agreed that the Labor Act would be modified in order to reinforce the provisions dealing with job security, so as to slow down the wave of lay-offs.

#### Help for Private Sector

Port-Louis LE NOUVEAU MILITANT in French 15 May 82 pp 1,4

[Article: "If the MMM/PSM Comes to Power: Emergency Measures to Help the Private Sector"]

[Text] An MMM/PSM government would immediately submit to Parliament an interim bill updating the law on bankruptcy and insolvency, in order to give itself and the banks the flexible and modern means they need to act quickly and judiciously in view of the disastrous situation in which the private sector finds itself. This decision was announced yesterday at a press conference by Paul Berenger, in charge of Finance in the MMM/SPM coalition.

Paul Berenger noted that the long election campaign had left the Mauritian economy "weak and drained" and that the MMM/PSM was now ready to take up the dual challenge of solving the crisis both in the public and in the private sector. "We are satisfied that there are enough civil servants and heads of enterprises with the required calibre, and enough concerned bankers and CPA's to take up this dual challenge after 11 June," Paul Berenger explained.

The 1981-82 operating budget deficit will exceed 500 million rupees; after the fourth Ringadoo euro-dollar loan, the debt servicing for these four loans will swallow up 640 million rupees for the fiscal year 1982-83; the repayment of other foreign debts, 215 million rupees; the repayment of local debts, 300 million rupees; and the repayment of IMF loans, 230 million rupees. The repayment of all these debts will entail expenditures of 1.385 billion rupees, exclusive of any new loan.

To pull the alarm bell, the World Bank recently presented to the government a report on the economy. The foreign-debt servicing is indeed going to exceed 15 percent of our foreign currency revenues. If Sir Veerasamy Ringadoo and Sir Seewoosagur Ramgoolam have nothing to hide, Paul Berenger challenges them to publish this World Bank report. Anyhow, the truth will become known after 11 June.

Referring to the private sector, Paul Berenger mentioned the difficulties of a large conglomerate whose holdings and subsidiaries are on the verge of bankruptcy. Should the cartel collapse, it would have a disastrous effect on the banks and on the private sector.



The situation in the private sector is a cause for concern and bankruptcies are following one another. The fishing companies and the structural steel manufacturers are also on the verge of bankruptcy.

Paul Berenger asked the heads of enterprises and the bankers to "keep cool" and not to become alarmed since, soon after 11 June, the MMM/PSM--in cooperation with the parties concerned--will take the steps necessary for an economic recovery.

The MMM/PSM will implement a new corporate law to replace the Companies Ordinance of 1913. The new law will be adapted to Mauritian circumstances.

Paul Berenger also stated that the measures which Sir Seewoosagur announced last Wednesday would not win him one additional vote because, after many difficult years, the unemployed and the graduates expect more serious offers.

#### Rural Property Tax

Port-Louis L'EXPRESS in French 19 May 82 pp 1,5

[Article: "Berenger Does Not Rule Out a Rural Property Tax"]

[Excerpt] The minister of Finance in the shadow cabinet expects the 1982-83 budget deficit to be around 1 billion rupees.

The next budget, which may be that of an MMM/PSM government, will be a deficit budget, Mr Paul Berenger, general secretary of the Mauritian Militant Movement (MMM) stated at the Mauritius Tax Payers Association (MTPA) seminar. The budget deficit would be the consequence of an operating budget including salaries, the national debt, and civil service pensions, which could not be reduced. Mr Berenger also mentioned the introduction of a property tax in rural areas when their administrative structures are on a par with those of the cities.

Mr Berenger stated that, should his party come to power, the next budget--to be submitted before 30 July--could reduce the deficit only "within acceptable limits." Since the 1981-82 operating budget showed a deficit of 500 million rupees, Mr Berenger stated that the next fiscal year would show a deficit of over 1 billion rupees unless changes are made in the tax system. He also gave the precision that the figure quoted for 1982-83 also includes expenditures for a 20 percent salary compensation.

Salaries, pensions and the repayment of the national debt would cost about 2.5 billion rupees. Therefore, the minister of Finance in the MMM/PSM shadow cabinet feels that there will be little room to maneuver. Nevertheless, the spokesman for the MMM/PSM stated that all promises contained in the program would be kept, e.g. a tax reform taking into account the minimum wage, tax cuts for enterprises and on salaried income, a wealth tax, the protection of the purchasing power.

The budget will include a psychological element aiming at economic recovery and the creation of jobs, although no new devaluation is contemplated.

PROGRESS OF AIRPORT CONSTRUCTION PROJECT REPORTED

Port-Louis L'EXPRESS in French 19 May 82 p 1

[Article: "Large Electoral Projects: The Government Loses Hope to Break Ground for the Northern Airport Before 11 June"]

[Text] The government has still to make a decision on the northern airport construction, and no decision was arrived at yesterday at a meeting chaired by the minister of Finance. The committee was to study the possibility of starting work at the Plaine-des-Roches site, but since funds are lacking and since most member of this ministerial committee were not present, it was decided to devote more attention for the moment to the restoration of the Plaisance airport.

For the moment, the government has a promise from the People's Republic of China for assistance which, according to certain circles, would amount to about 250 million rupees; this amount is insufficient to enable the government to venture to start work at the Plaine-des-Roches site.

On his return from abroad, in mid-February, the prime minister had wished to see construction of this airport start, and had given to understand that his minister of Finance would go abroad to negotiate the loans necessary to finance the project. Sir Veerasamy Ringadoo's mission does not appear to have had the results expected and, less than a month from the elections, we still do not know when work will start.

According to reliable sources, five of the seven ministers appointed to this ministerial committee were not present yesterday morning, and no final decision could be taken. Nevertheless, it was rumored in certain circles that the government does not have sufficient funds to start construction and that it intends to obtain the funds needed first.

9294

CSO: 4719/1014

## BRIEFS

FSSC STRIKE THREAT--The statements made recently by the prime minister and the minister of Finance on the Pay Research Bureau (PRB) report may cause a strike which would paralyze all public services next 1 June. The executive committee of the Civil Service Unions Federation (FSSC) met yesterday and called for a general strike of civil servants after what they called "the government's double-talk." A strike committee was created to call up civil servants to strike on 1 June. It will be noted that the Federation demands not only that the report be published, but also that it be applied. [Excerpt] [Port-Louis LE MAURICIEN in French 15 May 82 pp 1,7] 9294

POLITICAL VIOLENCE--Threats of intimidation and political acts of violence are becoming more frequent as election day nears. Many incidents were reported during the past two weeks, and it would seem that some MMM supporters are getting out of control, especially since the Rose Hill May Day meeting. Organized violence was discussed at Friday's council of ministers and measures have been taken by the government to boost police forces throughout the country so the election campaign can go off peacefully and civilly. For his part, the police commissioner, Mr A. Rajarai, issued a communique on Thursday, asking for the cooperation of the political parties to restore a climate of peace, before and after the elections. He deplored the manner in which certain political parties are organizing their election campaign, breaking the law at public meetings and processions and inciting their supporters to violence. [Text] [Port-Louis THE NATION in French 16 May 82 p 1] 9294

CSO: 4719/1014

MAY DAY ACTIVITIES STRESS WAR PREPAREDNESS

Maputo NOTICIAS in Portuguese 3 May 82 p 3

[Text] Lt Gen Armando Guebuza, resident minister in Sofala Province, told Beira's workers last Saturday that important measures had been taken to combat the armed bands that lurk inside the country, namely in Manica and Sofala provinces.

Guebuza spoke at a rally of workers in the plaza of the Mozambique Railways central station, the end point of the parade of thousands of workers and dozens of decorated floats representing various branches of economic activity in the province.

"Serious measures have already been taken to reorganize the nation's entire defense system," the resident minister noted. Among these measures were the nomination and recent installation of new military commanders in all the provinces.

General Guebuza said that some actions to destabilize social order had already met with a strong response, and he was confident that the people of Beira knew how to respond to the activities of the armed bands and reactionaries seeking to foment tribalism.

Gaza

Col Jose Oscar Monteiro, chief of government of Gaza Province, defined increased production and elimination of the armed bands as the major tasks of the province residents at this time.

Monteiro addressed thousands of people in Xai-Xai at a rally commemorating the International Day of the Worker.

In Gaza, where the people celebrated May Day with cultural, political and sports events, Monteiro stressed the need for the people to associate their daily work with combat preparedness.

Arnaldo Lopes Pereira stressed the important contribution of the Netherlands in the field of hydrology.

Dutch cooperation in the sector takes in professional training, installation of a hydrological information system and establishment of the bases for applied research in hydrology.

Prospects for cooperation with the Netherlands in the water sector are vast, according to director Pereira. He explained that important projects are being negotiated for fiscal 1982, such as water distribution to the drought-stricken villages in the coastal areas of Cabo Delgado and Nampula provinces.

There are also plans for hydrological studies for the second phase of improvement to the Maputo water supply system in the Mahota-Marracuene zone, improved distribution in Beira, a new water supply system for Pemba and for Inhambane and Zambezia provinces, as well as plans to strengthen the technical capacity of the Water and Sanitation Directorate and of the firm GEOMOC.

The Dutch Government has also contributed significantly to the development of other economic sectors in our country, including road construction in Zambezia Province, health, education, and transportation and telecommunications.

6362

CSO: 4742/309

DUTCH ASSISTANCE IN WATERWORKS, ROADS PRAISED

Maputo NOTICIAS in Portuguese 29 Apr 82 p 3

[Excerpts] Cooperation between Mozambique and the Netherlands recently took a quantitative and qualitative step forward, benefiting the interests of both countries. This was the keynote of the speeches by the national water director and the Dutch charge d'affaires on the occasion of the signing of a contract for execution of drainage works in Basin A, of the city of Maputo.

The Government of the Netherlands has become one of our best partners in financing important development projects in the People's Republic of Mozambique, although cooperation with the Dutch Government basically involves the water sector.

So-called "Basin A" in the city of Maputo is the most important of the 20 drainage basins into which the city is divided and, in light of the severe problems caused by the floods, it has been considered a priority area.

Drafting of the General Plan for Drainage of the City of Maputo was initiated in 1978, with financial support from the Kingdom of the Netherlands. The studies were completed in 1981 with a program to carry out the work in three stages.

The investments planned to 1990, including the immediate program and part of the intermediate phase, amount to about 1 million contos, at 1981 prices.

The work now negotiated between CETA and the consortium INTERBETON-NBM will take about 3 years and will cost about 400,000 contos, at 1981 prices.

Various other Dutch-supported projects are now in progress, specifically, the design of a general sewer system for the city of Maputo, projects to install a water supply system for communal villages in Mahote and Funhalouro districts in Inhambane Province and a water supply project for the outlying districts of the city of Maputo. The Dutch Government is also providing equipment to GEOMOC to improve its capacity to capture underground waters.

The cooperation contract between DNA [National Water Directorate], the Mozambican consortium CETA and the Dutch INTERBETON-NBM was signed day before yesterday in Maputo. At the signing ceremony, National Water Director

## Inhambane

In Inhambane Province, Gov Alberto Sithole inaugurated an avenue named Samora Machel as part of the May Day festivities.

Machel made a slow tour of this avenue on his recent visit to the province.

Also in Inhambane, a dining hall was inaugurated in the Fabrica de Sabao [Soap Factory]; it can serve 100 workers. At the end of the ceremony, the factory workers presented 30,000 meticals to the governor to support the convening of the fourth congress.

## Tete

Reports from Tete Province indicate that the workers' celebration featured a parade followed by a rally in the city of Tete, along with other festivities in the province districts.

At that rally, Gov Joao Baptista Cosme urged the people to engage earnestly in combating the armed bandits, and spoke of the need to increase production in support of the Fourth FRELIMO Party Congress, to take place next year.

## Zambezia

Like many other locations in our country, Zambezia Province celebrated May Day with political, cultural and sports activities, notably the popular rally led by Governor Osvaldo Tanzama, in Quelimane.

During the rally, awards were presented to workers who had distinguished themselves in the socialist emulation campaign during the first quarter of this year.

6362

CSO: 4742/309

SOUTH AFRICAN ARMY HARASSES CIVILIANS IN NAMIBIA

Paris LE MONDE in French 26 Mar 82 p 7

[Article by Patrice Claude: "On the Angolan Border--The South African Army Has Lost the "Battle for Hearts!"]

[Text] As December 1982, the date set for the proclamation of Namibian independence, approaches, the negotiators are marking time in search of a solution.

The new proposal of the "contact group" (United States, Great Britain, Federal Germany, France, Canada) concerning the election of the constituent assembly in Namibia is "absurd," a SWAPO leader, Moses Garoeb, declared in Lusaka on Wednesday, 7 April. "Why is Namibia being subjected to a bizarre electoral procedure?" this leader pointed out. "Namibian society is semi-literate and needs a simple electoral system."

In the field, raids continue on both sides of the Angolan-Namibian border, and the South African Army has made a new attack 300 kilometers within Angolan territory.

Kurinkuru (Angolan border): "I was blindfolded. They started beating me. I fell down. They sat me in a chair and put electrodes in my ears. Before each discharge, someone asked me a question, but no one was listening to my answer. They seemed to be enjoying themselves. They forced me to open my mouth to put electrodes in it, and the shocks started up again under the tongue, then on the nape of my neck. This lasted 3 long days. On New Year's Eve, others came to torture me. They were slightly drunk. They spat the scraps from their meals in my face. They laughed like madmen. They then carried me into a cell where I found, lying shoulder to shoulder, four other prisoners who were in bad condition. The cell consisted of a metal structure 2 meters long and 1 meter high. It was impossible to stand up, especially since the ceiling, which had a circular arch, was lined with barbed wire. They allowed us a daily 15-minute "walk" in the courtyard. We had to trot in a circle and, depending on the day and the guard's whim, imitate the cries of pigs, cows or chickens. This was effective; finally, I no longer felt the least bit human."



Damning testimony on the methods used by the South African Army in the so-called "operational" zone but an almost banal account. There, in the "hell of the north," far from the smokey Windhoek bars where the territory's political future is discussed throughout the night over mugs of beer, the atrocities suffered and related by the population are part of the scenery.

Jaako Kangaji, 37, father of one child and director of the Kuringkuru secondary school, has not forgotten the shocks of torture, and his two broken ribs still give him pain. But in the evening, when the feverish night falls over this landscape of green bush and thatched roofs, in the darkness of family kraals, safe from indiscrete ears, behind these ridiculous fortifications of dead branches and dried mud, the Kavangos mention still other horrors. This man was beaten without cause while he was going to his patch of mohango (a meager corn that constitutes the Kavangos' basic foodstuff). With great, restrained shame, another man tells of the rape of his little 13-year-old daughter.

Children were present at the murder of Oom Nguuru, the old village wise man, who was returning peacefully to his kraal one Sunday in February. He was killed without being challenged, perhaps for sport, while he was pausing under his favorite tree. Another man got a bullet in the head the next morning while he was going to the cuca-shop (the bush cafe-grocery store) to get a little tobacco.

Between the army, the police, the sinister South African special division exported into the region and the "home guard," regular "tontons macoutes," blacks recruited and trained (3 months) by the army, the Kavangos and Ovambos no longer know where to find refuge. The South African high command in Windhoek, of course, invites the people to report all acts of intimidation committed by its men and is pledged to punish the rotten apples, but a few years of bad experiences scarcely inspire confidence. The accusations have, however, come to the ears of the South African prime minister, Pieter W. Botha, and he promised at the end of February to establish a permanent special committee of inquiry to find and try offenders. But, once again, the local populations scarcely believes it.

#### A Hostage People

A trip to the same region organized by the army a few months ago made it possible for us to gather several second-hand accounts of the "atrocities committed by SWAPO against innocent citizens." Without a chaperone in uniform, but accompanied by Hans Rohr, the only white elected by the blacks in the leftist opposition to Dirk Mudge's "government," the present visit enabled us to hear another side of the story. From village to village, from Catholic mission to Lutheran mission, along this dusty trail that for close to 300 kilometers runs along the "crocodile-filled" Okavango River, a stone's throw from Angola, we heard the complaint of a hostage people, at the mercy of the exigencies of a phoney war. We also sized up the defeat of the South African troops on the psychological battle front, what General Malan calls "the struggle for the hearts and minds" of black Namibians.

"Hompa" ("chief" in Kavango) Daniel Sitentu Mpasi, head of the strongest of the five Kavango tribes, spiritual leaders, respected judge and honest administrator of the 35,000 Kangwalis,\* is not a SWAPO man. Until the beginning of this year, he gave the tribe's support to the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance (DTA), born under Pretoria's auspices. Dispassionately, just to protect its tranquillity. But the occupation army doesn't need support for policies; it hopes for collaboration and, if possible, denunciation of suspects (rewarded by bounties of Fr 1,000 to 4,000, depending on the quality of the capture).

The soldiers used all means at their disposal to convince "Hompa" Mpasi. From "friendly advice" they went on to more direct threats, then to carrying them out. Last 1 December, in the middle of the night, the army fired for an hour over the huts. The commander of the unit then amiably invited the chief to come out and said to him, "You have just been attacked by SWAPO. Without our help, the kraal would have been destroyed; you would do well to accept our protection."

"Hompa" Mpasi did not believe a single word of the story, refused the soldier's offer and courageously denounced the scheme. "They can come to kill me. I must stand up for my people."

Under the bush foliage of the ancient "witgat-tree," under which the "captain," as the Afrikaners call him, dispenses tribal justice (except for murders, which must be reported to the police), the 30 councillors seated in the red dust are listening religiously to the talk. Last year, when in order to retain his authority he refused the "protection" offered by the army, "Hompa" lost two of his children. Not much was left of the two little girls, cut to pieces by a mine on the road leading to his farm. SWAPO? The army? The Namibian Council of Churches received several statements according to which the soldiers sometimes use mines to convince the people to make "the right choice." The chief refuses to talk about it. With a tired gesture, he points out the crocodile-filled river and beyond it, 50 meters away, the Angolan bush, which extends as far as the eye can see. "The soldiers accuse my people of offering refuge and food to guerillas who infiltrate through here. But my people have never had problems with them. Many have relatives on the other side. There is nothing to be done; that's the way it is."

Overequipped and well trained, despite its unruly elements, the South African Army and its Namibian units control the roads and the principal paths of the entire operational zone, which extends over 1,500 kilometers from Kazangula up to the first sprays of the Atlantic. During the day the army searches, scours and combs thousands of hectares of bush. But during the night, when the migratory birds go to sleep, scattered in young trees, and when tired soldiers return to their small forst, partially buried under

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\*With 120,000 inhabitants, Kavangoland is the most populated region (after Ovamboland) of a territory that includes at most 1 million inhabitants.

mounds of beaten dirt, when only a few teams of fighters, charged with killing curfew violators on sight, patrol, then the country belongs to SWAPO.

The guerrillas, who sometimes cover several dozen kilometers a day, put mines on the routes frequented by military convoys--mines that are defused the next morning by specialized units that cover several hundred kilometers each morning--and lead punitive expeditions against "collaborators."

"The essential difference between SWAPO's actions and those of the army," a nationalist militant told me in Windhoek, "is that our soldiers do not strike at random. The targets are carefully selected. We eliminate traitors. The army creates a reign of terror, even among those who would be ready to support the DTA stooges." In substance, this is what the South African bishop, Desmond Tutu, also told the press during a visit to the region at the end of February. Most of the bush missionaries whom we met view the situation similarly.

The high military command is probably correct when it affirms that "the enemy doesn't control an inch of Namibian land." But the army can do nothing against the night fighters, apart from constantly mistaking targets and demoralizing the civilians. Its most dangerous adversary is invisible, impalpable and innumerable. At night, by the light of paraffin lamps, he goes from kraal to kraal, explaining to peasants who speak his language and trust him the why and how of the liberation struggle. During the day, he camps clandestinely in the villages, around the billets and sometimes inside, camouflaged as a servant, a cook, a gardener and even a soldier, since henceforth the army will be raising auxiliary troops among the poor. The richest families have not listened to Radio Windhoek for a long time but are permanently tuned to Radio Luanda, and the SWAPO broadcasts are a great success.

The fortifications erected around the white quarters of Rundu, Oshakati and Ondangwa, the bomb shelters planted in the gardens of each "white" shouse, the pieces of anti-aircraft artillery pointed toward the hopelessly empty blue sky, the interminable patrols of antimine vehicles, the machinegun nests, the sentinels, the signs at the entrance to the white quarters urging that weapons be unloaded, in short, all this decorum can no longer change Namibia's fate. Sooner or later, elections will have to be organized, and the population, whatever the color of its skin, is convinced that SWAPO will win them.

9380

CSO: 4719/831

SWAPO LEADER ON NONALIGNED AID, MALMIERCA SPEECH

FL031925 Havana Domestic Television Service in Spanish 1100 GMT 3 Jun 82

[Interview with (Haro Shisbese), member of the Central Committee of the South-West African People's Organization of Namibia and its undersecretary of international relations, in the Conventions Palace in Havana; answers in English with consecutive translation into Spanish--recorded]

[Excerpts] [Question] We would like to hear your opinion on the nonaligned movement's efforts in connection with Namibia's decolonization process.

[Answer] First of all, you must bear in mind that since the founding of the movement, much time has been devoted to the question of the decolonization. Many countries have already achieved their independence and on the question of Namibia in particular, the movement has been very firm, placing a very special interest on this matter. This is why a special bureau meeting was held in Algeria. Especially after Cuba assumed the presidency of the movement, considerable progress has been made in the area of assistance to the national liberation movements, particularly the South West African People's Organization [SWAPO]. A special fund has been established for SWAPO and for Namibia. Namibia has also approached several countries with the help of the movement's president. In general, I can say that especially after Cuba became the movement's president aid to the liberation movements has been both positive and intense. This has been done in general, but particularly in the case of SWAPO.

[Question] We would also like to hear your view on [Cuban Foreign Minister Isidoro] Malmierca's address today.

[Answer] The speech was very inspiring and all encompassing. It covered the problems that the world is confronting today. Our wish is that this speech should be the guideline for our work here.

CSO: 3010/1654

# DEBATES IN ZINDER TO SHED LIGHT ON EDUCATIONAL PROBLEMS

Niamey LE SAHEL in French 22 Mar 82 p 1

[Editorial by Harouna Niandou]

[Text] The great national debate on education opens today in Zinder. In attendance will be several members of the government and the Supreme Military Council, representatives of national organizations and the educational community in general--teachers, professors, teaching counselors, school inspectors, officials from the Ministry of National Education, primary and secondary students--in a word, Niger's entire educational establishment.

The casual observer might be tempted to think that an unnecessarily large number of people are going to Zinder "just to palaver." But the truth is just the opposite, for in fact what is happening is that for the first time in Niger's history, a forum on education has been created that invites each and every Nigerien to put forth frankly and honestly his own views on the state of Nigerien education and how to improve it. And in this field, the more numerous, diverse, and even contradictory the opinions elicited, the more energetic will be the debate, thus making it possible to have a full inventory of the ills corrupting our educational system--and making it easier to correct them.

Without attempting to prejudge the debate or comment on the conclusions it eventually reaches, one can say that it is obvious Nigerien education is ailing and could get still worse and that its ills must be cured, no matter what the cost, if we want to have a health society firmly committed to the path of harmonious economic development.

If we go back to our roots, we will see that before colonization, traditional African society was basically rural, and the accent was on communal living. Despite its stratification and contradictions, that society had a certain unity. Culturally speaking the education of the child was handled, depending on his age, either by his family or by the entire community. With the advent of the colonial period, two antithetical worlds were created. The schools of that era--like the churches--made it possible for the colonizer to destroy the equilibrium of traditional society, to tear the child away from his community and to make him a collaborator who was rewarded for going against his brothers.

After independence, African countries inherited a system that had manifestly failed on all fronts--high rates of illiteracy, high rates of mortality, ravaged national economies, political independence in name only, dulled minds, etc. The result has been the rural exodus, juvenile delinquency, dissolute living, assimilation of the colonialist mentality, an acculturation by virtue of which "every time the colonial subject opened his mouth he impeached himself." All this showed a horrible systematic bankruptcy that should have been corrected in the first hours of independence. Especially in the field of education. The schools needed to be socially integrated; they needed to serve society rather than enslave it. Alas, the situation has only gotten worse, and it is only natural that people who have become aware of the dehumanization of the schools have cried out a warning. This profound and urgent call has met with a positive response in the various initiatives to reform Nigerien education. And, more recently, the debates on the building of a development society have emphasized the maladjustment of our educational system.

Moreover, upon returning from his most recent in-depth tour of Diffa Department, President Seyni Kountche himself reiterated the primary reasons for holding this national debate: "It is because Niger's schools are so poorly adapted to our social fabric and because of the cost of this schooling, but it is also because of our desire to see Nigerien education be a matter of concern for all Nigeriens, not merely a concern of the state. This is why all Nigeriens, or their representatives, should meet in Zinder, for however long it takes, to come up with something the state can use as a bible in implementing an educational program."

The Zinder debates should thus shed light in the broadest sense on Niger's educational problems. In this light, we will be able to see the profiles of the college, secondary and primary students who need to be educated, the kind of education that should be dispensed, its content, the techniques to be used; in short, we can define the real function of schooling in the Niger that is emerging. The number of participants, their expertise and the quality of their thinking will doubtless ensure that the expected results are achieved.

9516  
CSO: 4719/762

NIGER

BRIEFS

OPEC LOAN--A loan agreement for a total of \$1.02 million was signed Wednesday, 17 March 1982, by our ambassador Habou Saley, and Dr Ibrahim Shahatah, representing the OPEC Fund. The proceeds are intended to cover Niger's contribution to the Common Fund for basic commodities. [Text] [Niamey LE SAHEL in French 23 Mar 82 p 3] 9516

CSO: 4719/762

SHAGARI SENDS ORDERS FOR ECONOMIC STABILIZATION

AB031339 Lagos NAN in English 1320 GMT 3 Jun 82

[Text] Lagos, 3 Jun (NAN)--President Shehu Shagari has sent four orders under the economic stabilization (temporary) provisions orders of 1982 to the House of Representatives for a affirmation by resolution of members.

According to a letter read by the speaker of the house, Chief Edwin Ume Ezeoke, yesterday, President Shagari listed the orders as economic stabilization (temporary provisions--customs duties) order 1982, and economic stabilization (temporary provisions--excise duties) order 1982. The other two are economic stabilization (temporary provisions--import prohibition) order 1982, and the economic stabilization (temporary provisions--export prohibition) order 1982.

According to the letter, these orders have been published in the OFFICIAL GAZETTE OF THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF NIGERIA dated April 12, 1982 under the title "Economic Stabilization (Temporary Provisions) Act, 1982."

The GAZETTE said that the act gave powers to the president to regulate tariffs and excise duties on import and export for a period of 12 months. It carries the provision that both houses of the National Assembly should approve the enactment by resolution.

The economic stabilization (temporary provisions--customs duties) order 1982 provides for changes in the customs tariff on a host of commodities, while the economic stabilization (temporary provisions--excise duties) order 1982 prescribes new rates of excise duty in respect of some manufactured goods such as motorcycles, cigarettes and electric fans.

The economic stabilization (temporary provisions--import prohibition) order 1982 amends the finance act 1981 by adding gaming machines and frozen chickens to the list of goods the importation of which is absolutely prohibited. It also adds 25 new items, including building materials, to the list which could only be imported under license.

The economic stabilization (temporary provisions--export prohibition) order 1982 provides that wheat offals and dried brewers grain could only be exported under license.

CSO: 4700/1337



COMMENTARY: ARABS, AFRICANS NEED TO EXERCISE RESTRAINT

AB311223 Lagos International Service in English 0830 GMT 31 May 82

[Dayo Adeyeye commentary]

[Text] The Middle East crisis again threatens Afro-Arab relations and OAU following the decision of Zaire to renew its diplomatic ties with Israel. While Kinshasa has been subject to sanctions and strong condemnation from the Arab world, black African countries have refrained from criticisms, although all of them have almost vigorously denied that they intended following Zaire's example.

Saudi Arabia and other Gulf states have already decided to break up diplomatic ties with Zaire. The Kuwaiti parliament has called on other Arab and Islamic states to follow suit, and Tunisia and Algeria have recalled their ambassadors to Kinshasa. The Arab League confirmed its stand by calling on all Arab national and multinational banks to break off all dealings with Zaire, which has received more Arab aid than any other country in Africa in the past decade. The Arab Bank for Economic Development in Africa, the main (?reserve) of Arab funds to African states (?has frozen its funds). The Islamic Conference Organization has also started diplomatic means to persuade its 41 members to break off relations with Zaire.

South of the Sahara, however, [words indistinct]. Cameroon, Gabon, Ivory Coast, Nigeria, Togo and Zambia, for example, have all denied that they were also preparing to renew ties with Israel so long as the basic Middle East problem of the Palestinians is unsettled. But none of them has condemned Zaire. Their attitude can be compared with that which prevailed toward Egypt after the conclusions of the Camp David agreement with Israel and the establishment of diplomatic ties between the two countries. A majority of OAU member states resisted the urgings of Arab countries and their more radical allies in Africa to ban Egypt from the organization, while maintaining their support for the Palestinian cause and the PLO as a liberation movement on par with those of Southern Africa. Only (?eight) black African states had already broken diplomatic ties with Israel as a result of the Middle East war, even though Israel was providing important aid, notably military and agricultural, to some of them. Only South Africa which has been a target for international condemnation, as usual, and Malawi kept up their official links.

Arab nations have reciprocated this good gesture by supporting African liberation movements in Southern Africa financially and diplomatically. Algeria and Libya are examples of Arab nations that have trained African freedom fighters. More importantly, Arab nations are providing the much-needed financial aid to a number of African countries. At the United Nations, the Arabs have demonstrated (?yet another degree) of solidarity. But this solidarity is now being threatened by Zaire's move to renew ties with Israel. It has eroded the mutual confidence between the Arabs and black African nations. There is a fear among several Arab nations that the Zairian move may encourage a number of African countries facing internal pressure to renew ties with Israel.

There is no doubt that the Zairian move will further threaten the forthcoming OAU summit at Tripoli, which is already threatened by the dispute over the Western Sahara. Other African nations must, therefore, refrain from such actions that can threaten the already shaky foundations of the OAU and the much desirable Afro-Arab unity. On their own part, the Arab nations must also refrain from excessive measures and overreaction that may appear as political blackmail.

It is in the interest of Arabs and Africans to strengthen their existing relationship, for it is this alone that can see them through their common struggle against poverty, racism and imperialism.

CSO: 4700/1337

NIGERIA

MARCH CRUDE OIL PRODUCTION, EXPORTS DECLINE

AB311039 Lagos NAN in English 1034 GMT 31 May 82

[Text] Lagos, 31 May (NAN)--Nigeria produced 28,911,897 barrels of crude oil during the month of March, 1982, while it exported 23,678,965 barrels during the same month, according to figures released by the NNPC [Nigerian National Petroleum Corporation] yesterday.

These figures represent an average production rate of 0.93 million barrels per day, with exports averaging 0.76 million barrels per day.

Compared to the preceding month, the performance during the month of March 1982, represents a decrease of about 33 percent in production and 20 percent in export.

The decline in crude oil production and export is a reflection of the continued lull in the world oil market.

On the domestic front, a total of 4,241,104 barrels of crude oil was supplied to the three local refineries all of which, according to the NNPC release, operated satisfactorily throughout the month under review.

Crude oil supplied under offshore processing agreement during the month, to augment domestic refining capacity, amounted to 4,346,927 barrels.

The posted prices for the Nigerian crude oil were 27.62 naira per barrel for the high quality grade oil and 25.73 naira per barrel for the medium grade.

The corresponding official selling prices were 25.28 naira and 23.31 naira per barrel respectively.

The NNPC said that these prices remained constant throughout the month under review.

CSO: 4700/1338

## NIGERIA

### BRIEFS

ASSISTANCE TO SEYCHELLES--Nigeria says she is ready to assist the Seychelles Government in its efforts to repair damages caused by the racist South African inspired abortive coup in the Seychelles last November. The deputy permanent representative of Nigeria at the United Nations, Dr Oladapo Fakowara, said the decision to assist the Seychelles in her reconstruction effort stems from Nigeria's growing concern about the menace of mercenary activities in Africa. The Seychelles Government had brought the matter before the UN Security Council which in turn set up a commission to look into the invasion and determine the motives behind it. Reports say members of the commission have since submitted their report to the Security Council. [Text] [AB271756 Lagos International Service in English 1630 GMT 27 May 82]

NIGERIANS IN NEIGHBORING COUNTRIES--President Shehu Shagari has appealed to Nigerians living in Benin Republic and other neighboring countries for full cooperation to ensure the success of measures recently introduced to revamp the economy of the nation. Such measures, he pointed out, included combating smuggling and illegal trafficking across the country's borders. President Shagari made the appeal while responding to an address of welcome presented to him by the Nigerian community in Benin Republic at a reception held in his honor in Cotonou. The president, who is currently in the Benin Republic capital for the ECOWAS summit, explained that the measures were introduced to counter problems being experienced at home as the result of the oil glut and worldwide economic recession. This, he stated, has resulted in a drastic fall in the country's foreign exchange earnings and the distortion of its development plan. The president informed members of the community that he had received the assurance of the support and cooperation of his Beninois counterpart and that of his government for the success of the measures being taken. [Text] [AB300923 Lagos Domestic Service in English 2100 GMT 29 May 82]

TIES WITH ISRAEL--Pressures on the Shagari administration for renewal of diplomatic ties with Israel is the subject of the NATIONAL CONCORD's editorial for today. The paper is surprised over arguments adduced for the restoration of ties with Israel which it views to be illogical. The CONCORD therefore advises the federal government to firmly resist being blackmailed into changing the foreign policy. The CONCORD submits that the reopening of ties with Israel should be a collective action. The NIGERIAN CHRONICLE is alarmed over

the discovery of little arms manufacturing dumps in various parts of the country. The paper believes that most of such illegal establishments are operating underground and feels that these will continue to strive unless the public cooperate in exposing the perpetrators of the crimes. But the CHRONICLE stresses that weapons from these (?militant) works, apart from being used by armed robbers, will be handy for those who mean to cause political unrest. [Excerpts] [AB011603 Lagos International Service in English 1230 GMT 1 Jun 82]

PAPERS ON LEBANON, FALKLANDS--The recent invasion of southern Lebanon by Israeli troops following the assassination attempt on the Israeli ambassador to Britain last Thursday attracts comments from the NIGERIAN OBSERVER. The paper condemns the action outright and blames Israel for ignoring the appeal by the UN Security Council for a cease-fire. In the opinion of the OBSERVER, this situation is not likely to help the current Jewish strive for the resumption of diplomatic relations with African countries. The OBSERVER therefore calls on the Israelis to retreat this dangerous step before the entire world is treated to yet another dreadful episode of a new Middle East war. The DAILY STAR comments on the Falkland crisis. The paper rules aside the question of who is wrong or right in the Anglo-Argentine war over the Falkland Islands, and says it is worried over the misfortunes and agonies brought on the peoples of Argentina and Britain. The STAR strongly condemns the United States and Australia for their complicity, and warns that the Falkland crisis has potentials for serious consequences on world peace and international rapport. It is in view of this that the STAR calls on the United Nations to ensure a cease-fire and make room for the settlement of the dispute over the Falklands. [Excerpt] [Press review] [AB081221 Lagos International Service in English 0830 GMT 8 Jun 82]

INFLATION REPORTED 20 PERCENT--Lagos, 8 June (AFP)--Nigeria's inflation rate averaged 20.8 per cent last year, the economic weekly BUSINESS TIMES reported here in its latest edition. It said the rate dropped from 24.5 per cent in the first half of the year to 21.9 per cent for the third quarter, and down further in the last quarter to 17.8 per cent. It said inflation was the same in rural as in urban areas, and was linked basically to higher food prices, which BUSINESS TIMES calculated had gone up 25.2 per cent. [Text] [AB080738 Paris AFP in English 0717 GMT 8 Jun 82]

DOCK WORKERS STRIKE--Lagos, 1 Jun (AFP)--The strike action launched by Nigerian dock workers union on Monday paralyzed port activities in the country for the sixth day running, the government newspaper, the NEW NIGERIAN reports on Tuesday. According to the daily, the 30,000 members of the union are claiming arrears in salaries and also protesting against a new system recently introduced by the ports authority which, to the union, will end up reducing employment by half. A previous strike action had already taken place early this year, and a union leader has stated that the strike action will continue until workers demands are met. [Text] [AB011331 Paris AFP in French 1302 GMT 1 Jun 82]

CABINET ADOPTS DRAFT 1982-1983 BUDGET, OTHER DECREES

Dakar LE SOLEIL in French 8 Apr 82 p 5

[Excerpt] The Council of Ministers met Tuesday and approved several bills dealing with the nation's economic structure. It also heard reports concerning several ministerial departments, including the Department of Rural Development (and the CILSS [Interstate Committee To Fight the Drought in the Sahel] meetings), the Ministry of Commerce, and the State Secretariat for Youth and Sports. The council adopted a bill suspending the export tax on vegetable oils and peanut-cake. It also decided that peasants should receive better prices for their agricultural products. The growers' price for peanuts was increased to 70 [CFA] francs per kilogram, 10 [CFA] francs of which will go to pay back the cost of seed and the outlays of the BNDS [Senegal National Development Bank]. This growers' price and various surcharges determine the commodity's price level, which is 85.741 [CFA] francs per kilogram this year.

These increases, it must be noted, come at a time when we are witnessing a collapse of peanut products on the international market. We thus see a difference of 15.741 francs between the computed price and the factory floor price of 70 francs at Dakar. This disparity shows the weakness of the price on the world market compared to the price being paid to the local grower. This is a situation which could well erode the competitiveness of peanut derivatives, especially crude peanut oil and peanut-cake, some three-fourths of which are exported to European countries. This is the reason for the change in the tax on exported products.

The Council of Ministers also reviewed and approved the 1982-1983 budget bill, which spells out the ways and means by which the government plans to attain the objectives set out for the 1982-1983 fiscal year.

The bill sets the total budget at CFA Fr 230,207,750,000, compared to 211,412,199,000 in the 1981-1982 fiscal year, or an increase of 18,795,551,000. Notwithstanding this 9-percent increase over the previous year, the new budget is austere and rigorous, in accordance with the guidelines established by the head of state.

General operating revenue from existing sources is forecast at [CFA Fr] 151,373,750,000, in the absence of any new taxes or increases in present taxes; this represents an increase of 16 percent over the previous fiscal year. The only supplements to the 1981-1982 budget are for training-school students in

their final year. The same policy will be pursued in 1982-1983. The various new measures in the bill have to do with the fields of research, health, higher education, and the training of youths.

#### Significant Decline

Development budget revenues expected in the 1982-1983 fiscal year come to 23 billion. Outlays will be concentrated mainly in the productive sectors, in accordance with the priorities set out in the economic and social development plan. There is a significant decline in the development budget, due to the fact that the supplementary appropriation for the autonomous sinking fund is no longer an item in it, as it had been in past years. That appropriation is now found under special treasury accounts.

The Council of Ministers also reviewed and adopted a proposed decree-law to create a series of preparatory agronomy studies within the Science Department at the University of Dakar. This is being done with an eye toward the plan to establish a National Rural Development Institute (INDR) at Thies. In this connection, the Science Department plans to set up a preparatory series of agronomy studies which is tentatively planned to last 2 years.

To that end, the council reviewed and adopted a decree-law establishing the course of study and examinations for the first and second year of the pre-agronomy curriculum.

9516

CSO: 4719/823

ARAB LEAGUE SECRETARY DISCUSSES ARAB-AFRICAN COOPERATION

Dakar LE SOLEIL in French 15 Apr 82 pp 22, 23

[Interview with Chedli Klibi, secretary general of the League of Arab States, 13 April 1982, by Aly Kheury Ndaw in Dakar]

[Excerpt] Chedli Klibi, secretary general of the League of Arab States, paid us a short visit as an official guest of our country. He arrived in Dakar late Monday afternoon and left Tuesday evening, after what he called important and fruitful talks with our head of state.

Before leaving Dakar, the secretary general of the League of Arab States granted an interview to Aly Kheury Ndaw. He answered our questions readily and spontaneously.

[Question] Mr Secretary General, what preliminary conclusions have you drawn from your brief visit to Senegal, after meeting with Abdou Diouf, president of the republic, and his prime minister, Habib Thiam?

[Answer] It was a short visit, but it has been filled with very important and intensive talks with His Excellency Mr Abdou Diouf and his prime minister, Habib Thiam. I had already had the honor of meeting Mr Abdou Diouf. We reviewed all the problems which concern us all--Senegal, the Arab countries, and the Arab and African communities. Our analyses of the points raised coincided perfectly.

I noticed that the head of state, who has been chief magistrate for only a little over a year, has a perfect command of all the issues involved in the international situation. I was also especially struck by his warm sincerity when discussing things about which he is particularly concerned, in particular the Palestinian cause and recent developments regarding it. For my part, I told the president about our organization's friendship and esteem for Senegal.

Arab-African Cooperation Can Develop Much More Seriously Now

[Question] For some years now, there has been a lot of talk about Afro-Arab cooperation; some people think it is taking a long time to materialize concretely and effectively....



[Answer] We discussed this problem with President Abdou Diouf and Prime Minister Habib Thiam. In our analysis we agreed that the obstacle which was slowing this cooperation down has been removed, thanks to the decisions adopted at the OAU summit meeting in Nairobi. Afro-Arab cooperation can develop in earnest now. That is why I feel the coming meeting of the 24 in Dakar is so significant. As you know, this meeting should impart a new rhythm and scope to this cooperation in all the areas it has left untouched so far. It should also create a climate of confidence, hope, and determination on both sides to go forward in all areas in which this cooperation would be desirable.

So I think there is reason to be very optimistic about the future. Having said that, however, I would like to add that we should not completely overlook what has already been accomplished, both within the framework of bilateral relations and through BADEA [Arab Bank for Economic Development]. Arab-African cooperation has already achieved a great deal. In the area of financial transfers, it can be said that between 1977 and the present, more than 5 billion dollars have been allocated to this cooperation. That is not a negligible [amount]. Of course I know that both Arabs and Africans hope to go farther. With determination on both sides, and a new spirit, I think that through the renewal of confidence at the Nairobi summit meeting, cooperation between our two communities will accelerate, deepen, and broaden.

#### The Arab Nation Is United in Its Objectives

[Question] The Arab world is a vast bloc of solidarity. But from time to time there are tremors or clouds which perturb or darken the fraternal atmosphere. I would mention as current examples the Sahara dispute and the Iraq-Iran war....

[Answer] I would like to answer your question by making two points which may seem contradictory. The Arab nation is undoubtedly united about its objectives. There are no serious differences of opinion among Arabs. What often divides them is the choice of ways and means. This is to be expected. I wish to stress the fact that in any community of states, it is natural for difficulties sometimes to arise. What is not normal, and not to be expected, is overemphasis on these differences, even exaggeration of them.

Thousands of examples could be given of disputes arising within certain communities of states, but not much is said about them. There is a lot of talk, on the other hand, about differences among Arabs. Why? Because certain powers, certain interests, cannot be pleased to note that Arabs agree on basic matters, and Africans, too; Arabs and Africans want to unite their efforts to attain certain economic and political objectives. This worries a lot of people very much.

But I would like to stress that the two examples that you have just given do not involve the League of Arab States directly. The Sahara problem is more the concern of the OAU, which is considering it officially. This does not keep us from being interested, and we never stop trying to contribute to a solution of this problem, mainly unofficially, in particular at bilateral meetings and talks between heads of Arab states. The Iraq-Iran conflict involves an Arab state and a non-Arab state, so we cannot undertake any official mediation.

But without saying much about it, we are trying to find a solution, through certain Islamic states like Pakistan and Turkey, certain nonaligned states like Yugoslavia and Romania, and even certain Arab states which, because of their relations with one of the parties concerned, are in a position to contribute to a peaceful solution. We hope all the efforts being made to find a peaceful solution will succeed in stopping this war, which is so dangerous for the two states involved and for all the states in the region.

[Question] Mr Klibi, why did you choose Senegal as the first state to visit south of the Sahara?

[Answer] First, Senegal has a special place on the map and on the African chessboard. It is a country with a lot of influence due to its moderation and its policies of reason and balance. It is these policies that President Senghor forged and President Abdou Diouf has enriched, extended, and consolidated. Senegal is a country that has always supported our struggle spontaneously, sincerely, and dependably. But I will confess that, being a Tunisian, I cannot forget that Senegal has had particularly friendly relations with my country for a long time--special ties of confidence and brotherhood.

9855

CSO: 4719/859

DIOUF DISCUSSES RELATIONS WITH TUNISIA, LIBYA, FRANCE

Tunis LA PRESSE DE TUNISIE in French 16 Apr 82 pp 6,7

[Interview with Abdou Diouf, president of Senegal, by Abdelwaheb Abdallah; date and place not specified]

[Excerpts] [Question] First of all I would like to thank you for receiving me and for giving me the opportunity to publish, I hope, in LA PRESSE, which is published jointly with LE SOLEIL, the impressions of the president of Senegal following the visit of the prime minister of Tunisia, a visit whose importance is generally agreed on here. I would like to know your views on this visit and on the state of relations between Senegal and Tunisia.

[Answer] First of all, I would like to emphasize the value of this visit, which came at the right time. We have the habit of saying that relations between Tunisia and Senegal are political relations of exceptionally high quality. We are accustomed to add immediately that this is not accompanied by very active cultural, economic, and technical cooperation. Our ambition has always been to raise cultural, economic, technical and scientific cooperation between the two countries to the level of excellence [that exists] in the political relations between our countries. It is therefore fortunate, and we have regarded it as a fortunate development, that the prime minister of Tunisia came to Senegal to discuss the best way of giving new impulse to this cooperation between the two countries in his meetings with the prime minister of Senegal and the respective ministers of the two governments. Therefore, I place great emphasis on the timeliness of this visit, and in this respect we were not disappointed. In the Tunisian prime minister we found to a high degree all the qualities of a prime minister and head of government. He has competence, courage, convictions, faith, and enthusiasm. He has the necessary affection for our country, Senegal, and in that respect he is faithful to the tradition of President Habib Bourguiba. I think that President Habib Bourguiba has really been fortunate to find a man who is totally devoted to him, who applies the policy defined by President Bourguiba in a happy, effective, and loyal way. And we felt and saw it here in the course of our conversations with him, throughout our meetings, and that gave this visit a special character, an extraordinary style, no doubt amplified by the fact that it took place during a moment of national enthusiasm, since we were celebrating the 22nd anniversary of our independence. For us it was a moment of pride to receive Prime Minister Mohamed Mzali and his wife, as well

as the rest of his delegation, at a time marked by Senegalese national solidarity, and to speak to the people of Tunisia at this privileged moment. Therefore, everything that I have just said created the proper framework for fruitful meetings. These meetings developed very well and ended with the results that we were expecting. We were looking for concrete actions because of the definitions of the policies followed by the two countries, their identity of views on international problems, the similarity of the efforts made concerning the paths chosen for national development, in accordance with the principles of democratic socialism. All of that predisposed the two countries to carry out together common, lasting, and fruitful policies. But beyond declarations of principles, we needed concrete actions and achievements. And once again we saw that Prime Minister Mzali, like his Senegalese opposite number, Habib Thiam, is a man of action, dynamic and concrete in his outlook. They were able to translate into concrete action the directives and the general instructions of their respective chiefs of state.

That gave us hope for the future, since it is a matter of applying in practice decisions that implement our instructions in the sense of the development of our economic, cultural, technical, and scientific cooperation, consolidating and confirming the exceptional quality of our political relations. The two prime ministers know that the two chiefs of state are much attached to the success of this cooperation. I myself accepted with pleasure the invitation sent to me by my great brother and friend, whom I admire, whom I respect a great deal--as I have been in the habit of saying--President Habib Bourguiba. And I think that in a few months I will make an official visit to Tunisia. That will be the occasion for the two chiefs of state to review what the two governments have done, following the directives and instructions which the two chiefs of state gave them.

[Question] Mr President, we will do our best. The Senegalese often speak of Tunisia as a model. In what sense, and why?

[Answer] As you know, my teacher was President Leopold Sedar Senghor. What I say, therefore, I draw from what he always said to me. He always told me: "The Senegalese should take Tunisia for their model." We have about the same size population and we have about the same area in our countries. We have the same sense of balance and equilibrium. We have made the same ideological choice for democratic socialism. And Tunisia, in this sense, has made very great progress in all sectors of national life. If we steer our ship of state well, following the path taken by Tunisia, by the beginning of the 21st century, Senegal can be considered a semi-industrialized country and will attain the level presently enjoyed by Tunisia--because you are well ahead of us, of course, even if we have the same kind of society, the same choice, the same program for our society. You have not wasted time. Everything you have done has been done well. As we are accustomed to saying, the balance sheet shows a positive result overall. Therefore, if we Senegalese follow your steps--with our temperament which resembles yours, with our ideology which is the same as yours--we should reach the threshold of industrial society by the beginning of the 21st century.

[Question] To deal for a moment with the Maghreb region, there is a problem--that of the Western Sahara, which continues to handicap relations within the Maghreb area, and which is now harming inter-African relations and particularly within the OAU. In your view, what will be the consequences of what happened recently in Addis Ababa, both in terms of the future of the OAU and, more specifically, for the forthcoming summit meeting in Tripoli, taking into account the fact that Senegal is playing an active role in this affair, and also taking into account the fact that the Senegalese have been criticized for their attitude at the time of the meeting of the OAU ministers of information--a meeting which did not take place--when Senegal was accused of being too partisan when it refused to receive the Sahraoui delegation in Senegal? Wasn't this considered a rather excessive position, in the view of certain parties?

[Answer] I should say that the most immediate consequence, the most visible result of what happened in Addis Ababa is that, for the present time, the OAU is stagnated. This was a meeting that was a failure. We are running the risk of seeing the summit meeting in Tripoli not be held at all because of the lack of a quorum. Therefore, the OAU is stagnated.

We Senegalese are in favor of making every effort to develop the unity of our organization, to reestablish cohesion within the OAU. However, unity and cohesion must be developed on health foundations. We cannot establish unity on a false basis, on a basis stained with error, illegitimacy, and illegality. What happened in Addis Ababa was a powerplay that does not rest on any legal, legitimate, or politically appropriate basis. In June 1981 in Nairobi, the chiefs of state decided on a process to permit the self-determination of the people of the Sahara. This was a question of holding a referendum. Thus, the OAU assumed its responsibilities in this matter, contrary to what its secretary general says. Its chiefs of state assumed their responsibilities. This was no longer a matter of admitting a state. It went further. It was a matter of letting a people express themselves, and the OAU provided itself with ways and means to make it possible to arrange for the people of the Sahara to express themselves.

At the end of this meeting, we were in agreement to proceed honestly and sincerely to the expression of the view of the people of the Sahara. It would be prejudging the expression of the views of these people to say that we were going to admit a state. That seemed completely illogical to us, if we really wanted to be responsible and men of justice. Senegal therefore drew the proper conclusions by saying that it refused to sit with the delegation of the so-called Sahraoui Democratic Arab Republic. As for the meeting of ministers of information in Dakar, we could not agree to the seating of a state that we did not recognize. Once again, we did not take a position, since we Senegalese are among the states that intervened with the King of Morocco to ask him to come to the meeting of all Africa and help us to resolve this problem of the Sahara, which led to the historic speech of King Hussan II before the summit meeting of the chiefs of state in Nairobi, where he proposed a referendum. And it is on this basis that all of us have worked up to the present. Therefore, Senegal cannot be accused of having taken a position. On the contrary, it is those who have anticipated the results

which we would have obtained at the end of the process begun in Nairobi in June 1981--it is those parties who violated the OAU Charter, and it is they who have taken a position.

[Question] What is the state of your relations with Algeria and Libya?

[Answer] Our relations with Algeria are good. We have said to Algeria once and for all that we were not in agreement with them on the problem of the Sahara, that we had set this issue aside in our relations with them, and moreover that we should develop our bilateral relations normally, since we have no other differences.

With Libya, our relations are not good. We broke diplomatic relations following Libya's interference in the internal affairs of Senegal, when Senegalese were being trained--I think there must still be Senegalese training in camps in Libya--to participate in the destabilization of Senegal and in the creation of a so-called Saharan-Sahelian state. (I don't know anything else about it.) I think this was a matter of establishing an Islamic legion to help in the creation of a kind of greater Saharan state. In any case, it is still a fact that we broke diplomatic relations, and since then we have seen no change in the Libyan attitude which would permit us to credit that country with the good faith necessary to reestablish the confidence essential to the reconstitution of diplomatic relations between the two countries.

[Question] Then there is nothing really new, so....

[Answer] There is nothing new in the attitude of Libya.

[Question] Excuse me if I insist on this point. This is because we have the impression that Libya is presently undertaking a kind of change--or perhaps the word is too strong--is attempting to carry out a change of direction, let us say, in its relations with the rest of Africa. And this process began, in fact, before the summit meeting in Tripoli. If I understand the matter correctly, will that have an effect on relations with Senegal?

[Answer] I was contacted by Libya before the summit meeting in Nairobi. I was contacted in June 1981, but things did not go any further, since my schedule at that time did not make it possible for me to receive a visit here from President Qadhdhafi, who wanted to visit Senegal before the summit meeting in Nairobi. Unfortunately, that could not be done, because I already had commitments. Since the summit meeting in Nairobi I have had no other contacts, but from time to time I have had indirect information mentioning the desire of Libya to reestablish normal relations with Senegal. However, I have not been contacted directly by Libya on this subject since the summit meeting in Nairobi. Whatever the course of events, I would like to believe that the efforts made by Libya with certain African states are not merely related to the summit meeting in Tripoli but reflect a fundamental change in its attitude toward other African states, and that they are not a tactical change to ensure the success of the summit meeting in Tripoli, ensure the success of the Libyan tenure as presidency of the OAU, followed by Libya's going back to its old ways.

[Question] Your relations with the other Arab countries are good and present no problems. Senegal has always taken positions favorable to the positions of the Palestinian Arabs, and the Arab countries are appreciative of the attitude of Senegal for having played a forward role in Africa in favor of the evolution of African-Arab relations. However, are you really satisfied with the level of cooperation, particularly in the economic field?

[Answer] Truly, I have no comment to make on that matter. I simply say that I am satisfied. I am satisfied from the point of view of the bilateral relations between Senegal and the Arab countries. Now I think that there is a problem of larger dimensions: African-Arab relations understood in the largest sense. Perhaps there are things to do, and I think the meeting of the permanent commission for African-Arab cooperation, at the ministerial level, that will be held in Dakar on 23-24 April, will make it possible to work on the situation in this regard. However, speaking from the point of view of Senegal, I am very satisfied with our relations with the Arab countries.

[Question] I would like to raise another problem: that of Senegal with its immediate neighbors and its position in terms of the overall balance of forces in Africa. If you look at a map of the region, you can draw certain conclusions, taking into account certain relations and alliances between your neighbors and certain powers. We have the impression that Senegal is a bit isolated in this game of alliances with the superpowers. How do you see the future of Senegal in this particular connection?

[Answer] What you say corresponds to fears which have often been expressed to me. However, what I see is that Senegal's relations with its neighbors are very good. I am not speaking of Gambia, with which we have just established a confederation, but of our relations with the other neighboring states, which are good.

Of course, perhaps we do not have the same alliance system with countries outside of Africa, but I should say this has not changed the quality of our relations in any respect, nor the dynamism of our cooperation with these countries. As proof of this, I see the spectacular progress that has been made in the development of the Senegal River. We have Mauritania and Mali as partners. Our understanding with these countries is very good. Problems are being resolved, and we have no difficulty. We also have very good relations with all our immediate neighbors. We have very good relations with Guinea-Bissau, with the Guinea whose capital is Conakry, and the Republic of Cape Verde.

[Question] Do you think that Guinea-Bissau, after the meeting in Conakry, will gain a place in the group? It is a new country, I suppose. The information media have not paid much attention to the problem.

[Answer] I have sensed no reticence with regard to Guinea-Bissau. Quite the contrary, I have sensed a desire to cooperate positively and in a dynamic way with us.

[Question] And Gambia? You spoke just now of union with Gambia.

[Answer] I will make myself clear once again, because I don't want countries to feel suspicious. We have good relations with other African countries. However, we were speaking of immediate neighbors--that is, those which border on Senegal.

[Question] Regarding Gambia, some people have said that this confederation was born following military intervention, as a consequence of a coup d'etat that failed. What is the future of relations between the Gambians and the Senegalese?

[Answer] I wish to state that military intervention took place legally under a defense agreement between Gambia and Senegal. I conducted a Sene-Gambian campaign. The expression is that of my friend, President Jawara [of Gambia]. He invited me to go to Gambia. I made a visit to Gambia. And he himself wanted to call that a "Sene-Gambian campaign." I held meetings in the principal cities, the principal villages of Gambia. And everywhere the reception, the speeches were really beyond what we expected. I have had the occasion to say here that we found ourselves in touch with Gambian people who seemed to reproach us for having been too timid in only proposing a confederation when it was necessary to move immediately to the stage of federation. Therefore, from the point of view of the people, I think there is no problem, and still less of a problem from the point of view of the leaders. However, there is one difficult problem. We are dealing with a people who were artificially divided into two states. They were colonized by two different powers and have administrative habits and economic structures that are different. Trying to confederate all that and to achieve a process of integration will require time, intelligence, ability, and patience, and we are engaged in the process in an irreversible way.

[Question] Regarding relations with France, evidently you cannot speak of politics in Senegal without touching on its relations with France, which are again exemplary relations, without problems, continuous. However, these relations and this French presence in Senegal are, in the view of certain persons, a little "cumbersome" or "too visible" after 20 years of independence. What do you think of these statements? Does the French presence remain a necessity for Senegal?

[Answer] I think that those who say that are not well informed. I think that if you compare the French presence in Senegal with the French presence in a certain number of developing countries equivalent to Senegal, there is really nothing shocking in the French presence here. It is a useful presence which relates to Senegalese national needs, and we have no complexes in this regard. Personally, I have not sensed among my people any phenomenon of rejection or impatience, or any other feeling of wanting to see a reduction in the French presence. I should say that on the side of France itself, we have not sensed any desire to establish hegemony here. Quite to the contrary, we sense more and more a desire to place relations between the two countries on a level of strict equality in order to safeguard the respective dignities of each of the two countries. However, there again, with the exception of a few opposition personalities who are in search of issues with which to criticize the government, who always take up the wornout themes



of imperialism, neocolonialism, and other slogans, the healthy element of our people has never expressed any aggressiveness toward the French presence. This French presence, moreover, is composed essentially of technical assistants whom we need. We don't even have all of the technical assistants we need for our requirements for development in the various sectors. There are also expatriates in the private sector, but they hold positions which are strictly technical and specialized. The rest of the positions are those which should normally be turned over gradually to Senegalese officials who are ready to take them over. I don't think there is any problem. And once again, we have no complexes on this matter.

[Question] Successfully cooperation is that which provides for its own replacement. Therefore, I suppose that you already have a plan for such replacement.

[Answer] Absolutely. I don't say that we have a very detailed plan. However, we have objectives for the progressive replacement [of French personnel]. As you have said, successful technical assistance is assistance which prepares for its own disappearance. And I can tell you that this is the philosophy of the French Government, as it is of the Senegalese Government.

[Question] It is said--and this is a wornout theme--that culture is the soul of a people. Some people think there may be too many references to France in Senegal. In effect, these people state that being open to universal culture should not be confused with a kind of depersonalization. In other words, to open oneself up more effectively, it is necessary first to assume your own responsibilities. Now, we have the impression that in terms of culture in Senegal, the Senegalese identity has not been sufficiently developed. Meanwhile, there is every reason for Senegal to express itself in terms of its own cultural identity. This is also true in terms of its own language, since you have a language which is spoken everywhere in Senegal.

[Answer] We should be afraid of replacing one imperialism with another imperialism, because there is one national language which is perhaps more widely spoken than the others. However, there are other national languages which are as rich and valuable.

In all, we have identified six languages whose transcription into written form has been arranged. We have also undertaken work regarding the division of words in these different languages; [this has been done,] moreover, under the auspices of my predecessor, who continues to work in this area at present. I think he wound up by bringing together the commission for the last language on which he was working. He should tell you very honestly that this concern is also ours. We have just held seminars on youth and culture at the departmental level, and regional seminars are currently in session. The theme for the past several years is exactly what you have just said: "Digging into our past and opening up to the present." And we have decided not to sacrifice any of the aspects of this alternative. We have decided to dig into our past but also to open ourselves up to the present, because if we do not open

ourselves up, we will impoverish ourselves, not enrich ourselves. And if we only open ourselves up without digging into our past, this will amount to depersonalization, the loss of our soul, of our substance. We would not exist. We would be pallid beings without a reflection.

Therefore we must assume the two aspects of our cultural vocation. I can assure you that work toward rooting ourselves in our cultural values is really going on in depth, and that we will vigorously pursue our objective of instruction in the national languages that we have already transcribed. We will thus have created the conditions for valid instruction at the elementary school level and perhaps even at the preschool level.

[Question] There are 12 political parties in Senegal. Is this a risk or a sign of good luck for democracy?

[Answer] It could be either one or the other, depending on the wisdom displayed by men. I myself am optimistic about the maturity and wisdom of the political leaders. For some people, 12 political parties can lead toward anarchy, toward a waste of energy. For others, that can be a source of reciprocal enrichment in terms of culture, of essential differences, in the expression of sensitivity, all of which are important for national political life. However, there needs to be an overall objective at every level, a kind of minimal cohesion to pursue the national task of economic and social development. I am also optimistic about this aspect, and this is the reason I have encouraged the establishment of new political parties.

[Question] Excuse my saying this to you, but I have heard it said of you that you do not find it easy to speak of the future. Nevertheless, some people attribute to you the intention of forming a government of national union or a national front with the principal opposition parties after the elections in 1983. In any case, would that be a solution which you would find attractive at one time or another and of which you have thought?

[Answer] No, I have never thought of it. You know, I don't know if this is a bizarre aspect of my character, but I often make bets on the future insofar as major national objectives are concerned. However, there are problems on which I never make bets. I am going to tell you something. On 31 December 1980, President Senghor announced his resignation as president. He had told me of his decision a few days before. Everyone knew it. On the evening of 31 December [1980] I was still rejecting in my own mind any idea of a choice of prime minister. This is because I said to myself: I am still prime minister; I am not the president. When I woke up on 1 January, when I took the oath of office, it was only at that moment that I would have the right to consider myself the president, and I would then announce the course to be followed. And that is what I did. Of course, I had some names in my mind, for at that level of responsibility you can never let yourself be caught unprepared. However, I can assure you that it was only after having taken the oath of office and when I left the Palace of Justice that my mind turned very quickly to the definitive choice of the man whom I was going to pick as prime minister. So I am giving you the same answer. I have never thought of a national front government, and I don't know who will be president in 1983.

You see, I go only up to that point. And at that time, depending on the political conditions of the moment, I think the president will do his best for the future of the Senegalese people.

[Question] I would not wish to miss the occasion of asking you a question which interests many people, both in Senegal and in other African countries. This is the problem of this law on illegal enrichment. You have taken risks, because the risk is quite serious. That is, the risk of going too far. And at the moment you create an atmosphere of suspicion, of a witch hunt, which would damage the political climate. The other risk would rest in not going far enough. In such a case you would risk deceiving people who have placed their confidence in you and who are enthusiastic about your ideas.

[Answer] Yes, you have answered the question. You have to find the middle ground. I hope that you heard what I said on the evening of 3 April, when I said clearly that this law should not be considered an instrument for the settling of old scores or something that will be applied on the basis of slanderous denunciations. I think you have to go all the way in an atmosphere of serenity, balance, and good sense. The problem is simple. In all of our countries--and even in industrialized countries, not just in Third World countries, for there have been scandals in many developed countries; it should not be thought that this is a monopoly of countries of the Third World--in all our countries there is corruption. Corruption is a kind of gangrene. If you do not stop it in time, it will spread throughout society, which will lose all its values, all its virtues, and it will become impossible to consolidate a nation and to build a state on solid foundations. This is because we encounter the phenomenon of a progressive decay of the structure that will make all our efforts useless. It is therefore necessary to know how to act in time. What is corruption? It is the phenomenon commonly called "the phenomenon of the bribe." By definition, it is a phenomenon that cannot be dealt with by the normal laws on misappropriation of public funds and other matters. This is because no one has an interest in speaking of it. Corruption takes place under the table, as the established expression has it. There is a big business transaction. A civil servant intrigues to ensure that it goes well, goes to a company, and that company tells him: "Good. Afterward, I will let you have so much money under the table." You have no proof of this! We have thought about this question. And what we have said is simple. It is the following: When we see that a person is living a kind of life or has possessions out of proportion to his recognized legal income, we will ask him to explain himself. He comes to the office. We question him calmly, reasonably. How have you managed to be able to live like this? The person answers. If he gives us reasonable justifications, the judges will not be men without a heart or without intelligence. They know their job. I can tell you now that in the course of the present inquiry there have already been people who have been questioned by the special branch.

Having said that, I can assure you that the system of justice is independent. We have established a special legal jurisdiction competent to deal with this kind of thing, and it has our confidence for carrying out its mission.

[Question] Regarding this question of illegal enrichment, there are some forms--I repeat, some forms--in cases of illegal enrichment where the government closes its eyes a little.

[Answer] I don't see at all what you are trying to say.

[Question] This is a matter of these charlatans who pass themselves off as religious persons and who sometimes take large sums of money from the people and enrich themselves on the back of the citizens.

[Answer] Yes, but that is a common-law crime. That is fraud. If we have a complaint in good and proper form, that question will go to the courts as a common-law matter. There is no problem. I would point out to you once again that the crime of illegal enrichment involves those who hold public, political, administrative, or other positions--those who by their position are able to exercise influence and to take advantage of this influence to enrich themselves illegally, in an illicit way. But what you have just spoken of is fraud, pure and simple.

5170

CSO: 4719/869

NEW CNTS LEADER DISCUSSES VIEWS ON WORKERS MOVEMENT

Madia Diop Interview

Dakar LE SOLEIL in French 19 Apr 82 p 14

[Interview with Madia Diop, new CNTS secretary general, by Momar Seyni Ndiaye; date and place not specified]

[Text] A few hours after his victory, Madia Diop, the new CNTS secretary general, answered our questions in the courtyard of the Socialist Party School, where he had just been consecrated and had achieved "the old dream of an authentic worker movement activist." Outside, hundreds of activists waited to hail this "victory of change," "this victory of Renewal and perseverance."

[Question] M. Diop, your election to head the CNTS is a consecration. How do you perceive this victory?

[Answer] It is a victory of the working class, a victory of perseverance and sacrifices undertaken by those responsible for it. Next, it is the achievement of the dream of an old activist who has always believed the workers' movement should be authentic, while participating in the work of national development. I have always thought these goals should not conflict with the interests of the workers. It was in 1971 that we began to fight against the imposition of a dictatorial trade union in the workers' movement. In 1975, at the congress of our central trade union, we took up this challenge but failed to achieve our aims. In 1977, however, we won a preliminary victory in the form of the resignation of the former leader, who was replaced by Babacar Diagne. This year the trade union Renewal was able to achieve the change we see today.

[Question] Isn't it also the victory of a new doctrine, or at least a new direction?

[Answer] It is the victory of a new direction over the old one. But the pace doesn't change. We are certain that the old concept did not correspond to the workers' aspirations. This is a historic day in the destiny of the

Senegalese workers' movement. The workers have confidence in us and have supported the trade union Renewal committee, resulting in the defeat of the outgoing secretary general.

[Question] The workers present in the room were very interested in your report. Is it a sort of platform of the trade union Renewal?

[Answer] This report is an important document, a very important document of the trade union Renewal committee. It reflects a school of thought--not a complete platform--and the aspirations of this school of thought. It is the essence of the will of this school of thought, which is gaining ground, seeking its way but staying within the guidelines of the direction established by President Abdou Diouf. This school of thought is somehow a form of support for the will for change that has been taking shape since January 1981.

[Question] Just what does the concept of trade union Renewal cover?

[Answer] It is a revolt by leaders who represent the people's will and who have realized how the workers have always rebelled against trade union dictatorship during a certain period of their struggle. It is the result of the whole disastrous policy of the old executive committee. That is why this struggle was born during this period of trade union dictatorship. This struggle was led by capable leaders who set the pace and who draw their mandate from the will of the workers.

[Question] Are you afraid of employers?

[Answer] Afraid of them? Not at all. On the contrary, we will tackle them if we are convinced that employers want to keep exploiting workers and are capable of violating the workers' rights and aspirations. It has been and is our duty to combat injustice and arbitrariness.

[Question] For the first time in the history of the CNTS movement, its secretary general is refusing to try to get himself a ministerial post. What meaning to you ascribe to this attitude?

[Answer] It is very important for us. We have gone through a period of responsible participation when a ministerial post was a sort of myth. Those who had one worked against the workers instead of for them. And we felt this situation promoted dictatorship and clanism within the CNTS and made it hard for the workers to get their central leader out of office. When a trade union official has a budget, he has the means to maintain himself in office for a long time even against the workers' will. We have taken a sort of step backward so that the person in charge of our central union will be a trade union representative able to remain in the service of the workers but also able to ask the government to choose from among other trade union officials, ministers who can lead their departments in the interests of the working masses. But we should say right away that we are not willing to accept just any ministerial post. We think trade union officials should head

government departments that will be consonant with the aspirations of the workers and the defense of their interests.

[Question] By refusing a ministerial post, aren't you questioning a practice that has always tended to give the workers' movements a political base?

[Answer] No, because I think the trade union movement should be a political base. It always has been. Lenin depended on the trade unions and the working class for the success of the October 1917 Revolution in the USSR. All the parties consider the working class their vanguard. That is why the CNTS considers itself an ally of the PS [Socialist Party], because most workers are members of the Socialist Party. That is why, as the leader of the CNTS, I remain convinced that the Socialist Party is the vanguard of the working class. This is a very important step forward. We will unite opposites within the workers' movement, thus leaving room for the members of our central leadership who are not members of our party but who are fighting for the same goals we are and who have confidence in us.

[Question] M. Diop, you have been criticized for representing certain concerns and perhaps even certain ideologies of parties of the political opposition. How do you react to this criticism?

[Answer] It is common. In Senegal it is enough to act in the workers' interest to be ostracized by the Socialist Party. As though the opposition parties had a monopoly on the defense of the workers' interests. When a radical PS activist is alert and drains off an important group of workers, one deduces that he is not a good PS member. This is acting as though the PS did not represent the people's best sons. This type of criticism is obsolete, anyway. Radical action in the interests of the Senegalese working class will continue. That is the only action that pays.

#### New Executive Committee

Dakar LE SOLEIL in French 19 Apr 82 p 13

[Text] After meeting for 2 days, the third congress of the National Confederation of Senegalese Workers elected a 75-member executive committee, headed--in accordance with the results of the vote--by Secretary General Media Diop. It includes eight deputy secretary generals. Faction A, led by Babacar Diagne, the outgoing secretary general, was not present at the end of the meeting, apparently because it rejected the way in which the posts of deputy secretary general were distributed yesterday evening. Some people feel that this faction, which had the confidence of 32 of 55 trade unions, represents 41 percent of the workers who are members of the unions, or 25,750. Babacar Diagne's faction feels that the number of posts offered to it are unrelated to the number of workers it represents. No exact figure was given for the number of posts this faction was asking for. A communique distributed by Faction A Sunday morning to activists announced its decision to withdraw from the congress "after certain anomalies noted in its procedure, the distribution of posts and certain voting irregularities among CSS [expansion unknown] delegates." In this statement, Faction A expressed its regret that the

procedure adopted enabled Madia Diop to make "offensive remarks about the outgoing executive committee." But during the afternoon, Babacar Diagne's faction came back to the meeting to continue participating in its deliberations. It then left again at 8 o'clock, following a disagreement about the distribution of deputy secretary general posts. The meeting continued anyway, but it was interrupted twice by sudden failures of the electricity. Here is the partial composition of the executive committee

Secretary General:	Madia Diop
1st deputy secretary general:	Serigne Diop
2nd deputy secretary general:	Ismael Diagne
3rd deputy secretary general:	Mohamed Ly
4th deputy secretary general:	Ibrahima Gueye
5th deputy secretary general:	Sogui Konate
6th deputy secretary general:	Modou Souleye Sarr
7th deputy secretary general:	(to be designated)
8th deputy secretary general:	(to be designated)

9855

CSO: 4719/854



SIX FAC FINANCING AGREEMENTS ANNOUNCED

Dakar LE SOLEIL in French 8 Apr 82 p 5

[Text] In order to accelerate mineral exploration and facilitate rural development and training, six financing agreements with a [total] value of [CFA] Fr 601,750,000 have been signed by our minister of economy and finance, Mr Ousmane Seck, and by the head of the French aid mission in Senegal, Michel de Bonnecorse.

The bulk of this financing is going into mineral exploration, with 370 million divided equally between geologic and mineral studies of a peat deposit in the Niayes region, and continuation of another study dealing with our phosphate resources. Some 170 million [CFA] francs have already been provided for this [phosphate] project, in which encouraging results were obtained in 1981. As for the peat deposit, a potential 50 million cubic meters of this substance, equal to about 4 million tons of heavy fuel, reportedly have already been identified.

In the rural sector, the FAC [Aid and Cooperation Fund] will contribute to the "groundnut seed" program (second installment). That contribution, worth 50 million of our francs, will involve putting two experts to work in the seeding service. They will try to resolve problems relating to the seed laws, the organization of production plans, the harvest, and seed conservation.

In the same sector, a total of 135 million will go into a pilot project in shrimp aquaculture development in Basse-Casamance. The project will include provision of post larval shrimp, the construction of ponds and buildings, as well as various kinds of equipment. A biologist will coordinate the project. There are also plans to train a Senegalese technician who will be involved in the project.

Some 25 million will be turned over to improve the quality of rural radio broadcasts. A training agreement was also signed. It will provide financing for a preliminary study of athletic equipment in Senegal. The object of this study is to determine what facilities and equipment will be necessary for the operation of the future National Sports Institute at Dakar, whose activities will include track events, swimming, team sports, martial arts, gymnastics, and bodybuilding.

9516

CSO: 4719/823

## BRIEFS

UTLS FRACTION JOINS CNTS--The Union of Free Workers of Senegal (UTLS) announced Saturday through its secretary general, Mamour Diallo, that it had decided to join the CNTS [National Confederation of Senegalese Workers]. This union, headed by Madia Diop, has about 10 members, Mamour Diallo attributed the decision to a wish to end "divisions in the working class and exercise greater control over the defense of its interests." According to Mamour Diallo, "This saving decision was taken thanks to the initiatives of Kader Fall, minister of education, who has worked hard for further rapprochement." It will be recalled that the UTLS became divided at its 1 July council meeting, after a big misunderstanding among its principal leaders. This led its first secretary general, Mamadou Fall Puritain, to found a dissident faction (or an authentic one, according to one's interpretation of the events of the time) with headquarters at Ouagou Niayes. Another split occurred later, leading to the founding of another UTLS with headquarters at Colobane. [Text] [Dakar LE SOLEIL in French 19 Apr 82 p 13] 9855

CSO: 4719/854

SEYCHELLES

FORMER OIL SEARCH AGREEMENT WITH AMOCO RENEGOTIATED

Victoria NATION in French 29 Mar 82 p 1

[Text] A new stage in oil prospecting in the Seychelles will begin soon following the signing on Saturday afternoon of a contract between Maxime Ferrari, minister for planning and development, and Peter C. Quoyeser, regional negotiator for Africa and the Middle East of the American oil company Amoco.

The latter gave Minister Ferrari a check equivalent to 3.2 million rupees as a bonus at the signing.

Under terms of the contract, which the two parties had been negotiating for 4 months, Amoco in the coming months will continue its seismic and aeromagnetic prospecting on the country's continental plateau.

The two parties also prepared a program of operations that could be started after receiving the results of the upcoming prospecting. Amoco will reportedly continue to cover 25 blocks--one block averages 680 sq km in area--and will carry out a program of five drillings.

The Seychelles, represented by the minister of planning and development, and the American company also revised, under more favorable terms for this country, the agreement on oil exploration signed in June 1977 with a consortium that included Amoco. This improvement will involve an increase in the bonus, rent for the blocks and royalties.

The American oil company had announced in June the departure from the Seychelles of the prospecting ship Diamon M. Dragon after drilling offshore at three points over a period of almost a year.

A spokesman for the company had announced then that the Diamon M. Dragon's departure did not mean the end of oil exploration operations but simply the completion of a contract.

During that first contract, the offshore oil prospecting operations in Seychelles waters were pursued on a note of optimism. The information collected in the various drillings was very useful in interpreting the seismic data recorded at the beginning of 1980.

The Amoco negotiator, who was leading a four-man team, was due to leave the Seychelles Saturday evening.

## SEYCHELLES

### BRIEFS

FRENCH MILITARY EQUIPMENT--Victoria, 7 Jun (AFP)--A consignment of military equipment including some heavy lorries (trucks) and weapons has been delivered to the Seychelles by France, it was announced here today. Some of the equipment was displayed in a parade marking anniversary of the coup that brought President Albert Rene to power on June 5, 1977. A communique announcing the presentation said the donation was evidence of the quality of cooperation between the two countries. France stepped up military assistance to the Seychelles shortly after foreign mercenaries tried to overthrow Mr Rene's government in November. The assistance has included military advisors, equipment and increased visits by French warships. On Friday, two Chetak helicopters, gifts from India, were officially presented to the Seychelles. India also sent a team of experts to teach the Seychellois how to fly and maintain the machines. [Text] [AB071400 Paris AFP in English 1335 GMT 7 Jun 82]

CSO: 4700/1336

FIRST PROPOSAL FOR CONSTITUTIONAL CHANGES SUBMITTED

White, Colored, Indian Representation

Capetown DIE BURGER in Afrikaans 13 May 82 pp 1, 2

[Article by Retief Pienaar: "A Voice for the Coloreds"]

[Text] The Constitutional Committee of the Presidential Council has proposed for South Africa a president having executive powers to appoint coloreds in its cabinet. Also held out as a prospect is representation in "a legislative authority" on a group basis for the coloreds. Some misgivings over three separate parliaments are being expressed.

The first report of this committee concerning the reconstitution at a central government level was made public yesterday after foreign newspapers published its contents. The report containing detailed recommendations regarding the executive authority, but laying down only broad guidelines with respect to the legislative authority, will not be tabled in the Presidential Council until next Monday. Proposals on the legislative authority will be submitted later.

Three reports were published yesterday: One concerning local and district government, one concerning the central government level and one having to do with the principles and application of the Group Areas Act.

The most important recommendations with respect to the central government are:

A president with executive powers having no ties with Parliament, who will be elected indirectly for a period of 7 years and who can also be a colored person.

A prime minister, appointed by the president, who along with members of the cabinet will have a sitting right, but no voting right, in Parliament.

Draft legislation affecting coloreds and Indians is to be referred to the Presidential Council for comments as an interim measure.

## Guidelines

The government shall issue a statement of intention in which the guidelines for a future order of things are to be set forth and in which the situation of the blacks will also receive attention.

Also--the possibility of a new role for the Presidential Council.

Comments on the part of Prime Minister P.W. Botha and on the part of the leaders of other political parties in Parliament, dealing with these proposals, are presented elsewhere in this newspaper.

In a joint report tabled yesterday by the Constitutional Committee and the Committee for Economic Affairs at the meeting of the Presidential Council, participation of the coloreds in local, district and provincial administration was also recommended. Direct representation for coloreds and Indians in local white administrations for those who cannot or do not want to create their own municipalities, is being recommended. According to the recommendations in this report the coloreds must also obtain representation in the appointed district administrations or provincial councils.

In the first report on the central level the Constitutional Committee says that it advocates a political model for South Africa entailing a joint social democracy for whites, coloreds and Indians and partition for blacks.. It strongly objects to the simple majority model and supports the direction of the existing policy for blacks.

The report states that the committee is of the opinion that it is desirable to have the reform initiated at the level of the executive authority. Provisions must be made for an executive authority which rises above sectional interests. This can be attained by the appointment of a president having executive powers and elected indirectly by an electoral college consisting of white, coloreds and Indian members of the legislative authority (regardless of how it is composed). The first president must be elected by the present parliament, but according to the committee the government will perhaps consider involving the coloreds and Indians even now in the election of the first president.

The president appoints the prime minister and then, in consultation with him, the members of the cabinet. Cabinet members will serve for as long as the president wishes them to do so.

### Six Guidelines for Reform

Capetown DIE BURGER in Afrikaans 13 May 82 pp 1, 2

[Text] The government will be guided by six guidelines when it considers the proposals of the Presidential Council and undertakes negotiations with the interested parties on this matter. This was made known yesterday by Prime Minister P.W. Botha in Capetown.

At the same time he committed the government to circumspection and a process of negotiation and made a serious appeal to leaders of all political parties and population groups to abstain from precipitous and unconsidered voicing of opinions over the proposals.

#### Practical

The six general guidelines mentioned by the prime minister are the following:

Political adaptations must not have a destabilizing effect on South African society and must therefore take place by way of an evolutionary process;

Such adaptations must be feasible and practicable and in line with the country's means regarding its labor force and finances;

They must be simple, clear and applicable;

Measures to be taken must be as acceptable as possible to all the population groups involved;

For the sake of the general interest of all the population groups the feeling of security and permanency must be guaranteed to the whites while the prospect of realizing their reasonable expectations must be offered to the other population groups;

Finally, in confirmation of the government's resolve for insuring necessary and just adaptations, the recommendations must be considered with circumspection so as to render possible constructive measures as soon as possible.

Mr Botha said that the government wants to emphasize that before it goes into negotiations with the parties concerned, or assumes a stand with respect to any recommendation of the Presidential Council or its committees such recommendations will not represent the government's views. Due to the nature of the matter the government will, in the usual manner, consult the party congresses in applicable situations.

The government also wishes to reemphasize that in the event that it accepts any recommendations in part or as a whole it will consider constitutional amendments by Parliament, as now constituted, and if acceptable bring about such amendments.

#### The Presidential Council's Report

Capetown DIE BURGER in Afrikaans 13 May 82 p 10

[Text] The establishment of a non-parliamentary executive authority with an indirectly elected president as its head who can take in coloreds in his cabinet is being recommended by the Constitutional Committee.

The committee states that the president must be elected by an electoral college consisting of white, colored and Indian members of the legislative authority; moreover, this office can also be filled by the coloreds.

Details concerning the electoral college will first become available when the committee makes detailed recommendations in a later report on the legislative authority.

The first president must be elected by the present parliament, although the government will possibly consider making a temporary arrangement by means of which the colored and Indian communities will be involved in the election of the first president.

The president must be the chairman of a single cabinet (or ministerial council). In view of the fact that his role will be standing above sectional interests (a supra-ethnic authority) the president will want to appoint whites, coloreds and Indians in his cabinet. Although the committee regards it as highly desirable and perhaps even necessary for members of the three groups to serve in the cabinet on a strictly proportional basis it is of the opinion that it will not be appropriate to prescribe to the president definite ethnic numerical ratios in connection with appointments in the cabinet.

The committee expects that to start with the cabinet will consist of a single prime minister appointed by the president and ministers who will be appointed by the president in consultation with the prime minister. In accordance with typical non-parliamentary executive authorities members of the cabinet will not also be members of the legislative authority, although the committee accepts the fact that most appointments will be made from the ranks of the legislative authority.

#### Formal Functions

The president will serve for 7 years and can be re-elected.

The committee is of the opinion that the president must be expressly described as the head of the executive authority in the constitution and that his functions must be clearly defined. Besides the formal functions which the state president fulfills in accordance with the present constitution the committee expects the president to appoint the ministers and deputy ministers in consultation with the prime minister. The president will evidently have a legislative role because the executive authority will continue to be the main source of legislative initiative. The president must also have the right to hold referendums over certain matters.

The committee proposes the following relationship between the president and the prime minister: The establishment of a national policy rests with the president and the cabinet and the prime minister is tasked with the daily administration of the country, the coordination of the minister's work and the government's relationship with the legislative function.



## Pliability

In order to eliminate problems associated with a mixed executive authority, members of the cabinet must not also be members of the executive authority (a consensus seeking political style, rather than an opposition practicing one, will be necessary for getting support in the carrying out of legislation). This will also be providing the presidential office with the pliability required in a poli-ethnic government system. Therefore, members of the legislative authority who are appointed as ministers and deputy ministers must renounce their seats. However, provisions must be made to allow a member of the cabinet, appointed from the executive authority, to subsequently return to his position if he was taken away from it by the president.

Aside of the fact that they will not be allowed to vote, it can be expected that the prime minister, the ministers and deputy ministers will be taking part in the deliberations of the legislative authority just as they are doing now.

The committee says that it accepts the fact that a big problem in South Africa arises from the highest political executive authority generally associating itself with the protection and promotion of sectional interests. An executive president who is elected indirectly by an electoral college which cuts across ethnic lines can do much to relieve this problem by making the executive authority as supra ethnical as possible. Although, in the legislative function a new constitution must make provisions for the diversity of communities the political executive authority must be regarded as being broadly representative of all communities.

## Election System

Details on an election system for the presidency are dependent on how the legislative authority will be composed. The committee is of the opinion that the election system will have to come up with two things which cannot be easily combined. The first thing is that it must make the highest political executive authority as broadly representative as possible of the communities participating in the central government, namely: the white, colored and Indian communities. Secondly, this system shall not be regarded as a threat to the main interests of the present dominant group whose leaders must make the final decisions regarding the constitutional changes. If these latter conditions are not met then the committee assumes that the election system will be rejected.

## No Group Dominance or Orthodox Democracy

Capetown DIE BURGER in Afrikaans 13 May 82 p 10

[Text] Group dominance will have to be eliminated if South Africa wants to avoid increasing political instability and social as well as economic disintegration. This is what the Constitutional Committee states in its report.

In a chapter dealing with its premises and with views which it has accepted the committee says that South Africa's government institutions will have to reflect the multiplicity of its society if it wishes to attain a workable democratic system.

The different societies must be accommodated so that their difference will be neither repudiated nor aggravated. The committee is aware that group identity processes are a dynamic matter and that definition of lines is something which must be regarded as being fluid rather than static.

Political development is a necessary thing, but this must be measured in values such as democracy, freedom, justice, well-being, equality of opportunity, security, efficiency, self-respect and the protection of culture and identity.

#### Orthodox

The committee assumes that the orthodox model of democracy (simple majority voice or a one-man-one vote majority rule in a single system) is not a viable choice for South Africa. If a political system in South Africa is to succeed as a democracy then participation in the system must be on a different basis than the simple undifferentiated majority rule.

The committee assumes that any system in South Africa which includes blacks on the basis of an unqualified majority or a consociative foundation cannot succeed as a democracy in the present or foreseeable circumstances.

South Africa needs a strong government capable of maintaining security and undertaking a coherent program of measures. The committee believes that a timely reform program undertaken from a visible position of strength can contribute a great deal in countering the activities of advocates and plotters of revolutionary subversion.

A circumscribed government is desirable in South Africa's circumstances and this is not irreconcilable with strong government because a government can be strong without having to intrude or encroach too far or too deeply. Serious clashes will be the probable result if effective mechanisms for the protection of individual and group rights are lacking.

The committee says that a political system for South Africa presupposes the existence of a spirit of collaboration. The committee knows that the focus of contemporary studies on political problems of a diverse society is moving away from the purely constitutional, or even institutional forms, to the society's political processes.

Experience shows that the way of keeping competition for power and position between the various communities of a multi-racial society to a manageable level is not to be found so much in institutional forms but in the political process and in everything dependent on that such as political leadership, style of leadership, the elites, political parties and policy.

The success of any new form of government will to a great extent depend on the quality of leadership. In the form of government envisaged by the committee, bridge building, or the consensual political style, will be playing a very important role. All the experience of a diversified society points to the importance of the elites and their conscious identification and enlistment with every government level.

Although a system of political parties directed predominantly at the community in a multiracial situation such as South Africa is unavoidable, there ought to be inducements for the political parties to find grounds and points of agreement and to start moving from there.

The committee says that any form of government must be able to adapt and grow. Constitutions change through circumstances and this will apply especially to a dynamic society groping to find its way to the solution of its political problems and therefore find itself in a transitional constitutional stage for the foreseeable future. The committee detects certain dangers in the situation.

"Few things will cause as much damage to the prospect of an orderly political development as the introduction of changes brought about on short notice only because of immediate pressure. Constant nagging on a form of government prejudices the authority of the constitution, causes insecurity and foments instability in the country."

#### A Segmental Autonomy Principle

Capetown DIE BURGER in Afrikaans 13 May 82 p 10

[Text] Representation on a group basis for whites, coloreds and Indians within a single legislative authority is being held out in prospect by the Constitutional Committee in its report on the reform of the first government level of South Africa.

In its first report the committee does not go into detailed recommendations with respect to the legislative authority, but concentrates on the executive authority. It has not had the time to complete its work on the legislative authority.

Its most important conclusions regarding a legislative body for South Africa are set forth in a chapter of the report.

On the basis of testimony presented to it the committee has serious reservations with respect to the feasibility of a three "parliaments" system envisaged in the Nationalist Party's constitutional plan of 1977 and in the 1979 draft legislation bill. The committee has also reservations on the feasibility of a legislative function based on a single undifferentiated majority rule.

The committee has found that South African circumstances require a legislative authority constituted in accordance with the principle of "segmental autonomy."

Representation must be on a group basis (communal) and the constitution must make provisions for matters of essential interest for the specific communities as opposed to matters of common interest. The committee's proposal for a reconstitution of the legislative body will be set forth on this basis in a subsequent report.

The committee does not recommend the establishment of a legislative authority based on the principle of a simple majority; it does give consideration to a segmental autonomy which entails minority governments. That is, a government of the minority, for itself in the area of its exclusive interest.

#### Segments

With respect to matters of common interests decisions must be taken by all segments together with roughly proportional degrees of influence. With respect to all other matters decision and execution can be left to the individual segments.

In the chapter about the legislative authority the committee discusses the 1977 constitutional plan of the Nationalist Party and the 1979 draft legislation. The committee says that the 1977 plan fails to give any indication of the form of legislative process.

Criticism against the draft legislation, which has contained more facts, is that only the white Parliament is invested with legislative competencies. The other two bodies would therefore remain constitutionally inferior. It would even be within the competence of the white Parliament to repeal the entire constitution without consulting the other two legislative bodies.

#### Delegating

The drafters of the draft legislation tried to overcome this problem by introducing the principles of constitutional succession and executive delegating.

This is highly undesirable from a constitutional point of view. The Indian Council has no legislative competency to delegate matters to the Indians' legislative body.

Any such powers which the Indian Council might have had and the limited power which the Colored Representative Council had could not have been delegated without much ado. The proper way would have been to expound this in a new constitution.

In the draft legislation there was no attempt to define what is of common interest or of one's own community interest. Another criticism of the draft legislation is the absence there of a stipulation requiring that legislation affecting all three communities be referred to all three legislative bodies.

Moreover, it is only the white parliament that wields fiscal powers. The prominent role of the council of cabinets as set forth in the draft legislation is also getting thorough criticism.

The committee says that it realizes that the drafters of the legislation were faced with a problem. It is a difficult thing to create an executive/legislative relationship which combines a high degree of executive initiative with a similar measure of legislative independence even in a two-chamber system.

"If legislative bodies with two chambers are not conducive to a healthy executive/legislative relationship, how much greater will the problem then be if one starts out with three parliaments?" Colored and Indian witnesses before the committee were unanimous in opposing to the utmost the three different legislative bodies.

#### Ways of Defusing Differences

Capetown DIE BURGER in Afrikaans 13 May 82 p 10

[Text] The draft legislation which affects community relations in general and the interests of the coloreds and Indians in particular must be referred to the Presidential Council as a matter of policy. This is what the Constitutional Committee recommended.

One of the committee's alternate proposals is that those committees consisting of members of the Presidential Council and members of Parliament be established for the purpose of giving general consideration to proposed legislation and policy affecting the colored and Indian communities and community relations.

The committee emphasizes that it regards these arrangements as interim measures which must apply until such a time as it makes recommendations on the legislative authority. This must not be regarded as a substitute for the participation of the colored and Indian communities in the legislative functions.

Modifications to the legislative body will perhaps take a long time. However, because the committee is convinced that it is in the country's interest for coloreds and Indians to participate directly and at all levels in the governing processes, it suggests taking these temporary measures.

The committee states that there are two longer range possibilities for the Presidential Council: A second chamber in a restructured legislative authority or a "decompression chamber."

The committee does not exclude the possibility of transforming the Presidential Council in two chambers, but this will depend on how the legislative authority is restructured. The desirability of this must also be weighed against the advantages of the continued existence of the council in its present advisory capacity. According to the opinion of the committee the

importance of the council lies in the fact that it is the first, and now the only government institution in which members of the white, colored, Indian and Chinese communities are represented.

#### Depolitization

As for the possible role of the council as a "decompression chamber" the committee states that the council has the potential of being an instrument of purposeful depolitization. Every plural society needs a "decompression chamber" in which delicate and difficult points of differences between the various communities are removed from the political arena and then defused in a non-partisan atmosphere. No matter how developed and adequate the legislative authority may be, the committee expects that there will always be a need for such a body.

The Presidential Council merges well into the non-parliamentary executive authority recommended by the committee. The council has, moreover, gained valuable experience and is well on the road of developing institutional practices and procedures which will be of inestimable value elsewhere in the new constitutional order (for example in a legislative committee system).

The council's term of office expires at the end of 1985, but in view of the possibilities which have already been mentioned it would be premature of the committee to air an opinion on the form that it is to assume thereafter. However, in the opinion of the committee, putting together the council by way of appointments (and not election) was a wise decision.

The election of the members would have politicized the council to a great extent, limited the freedom of discussion and in practice it would have meant that the council would have been deprived of the services of people who can play an unmistakable role in making it an effective body. However, the committee agrees that an election, or election and appointments, will probably be necessary if the council is to become a second chamber in the legislative authority.

#### Local Administrations; Full Rights

Capetown DIE BURGER in Afrikaans 13 May 82 p 12

[Text] The committees which have studied a new order of things on a local level recommend that existing administration and neighborhood affairs committees for the coloreds and Indians must obtain representation with full rights in white local administration or in administration committees of white municipalities.

The committees recommend that the chairman of each administrative committee or his deputy obtain seating with full voting rights in white municipalities and in divisional councils (in the Cape Province).

This arrangement must remain in force until the colored region becomes autonomous or until its representatives obtain seats in the white municipality or divisional council on a district basis. In the meantime the administrative committees must continue to exist. The same arrangements apply to zones (for example in Natal) where whites make up a minority in local administrative jurisdictions.

Existing local administration, including peripheral urban administrations, must keep their present status unless or until the recommendations made by the committees require their adaptations or changes. Voting rights procedures for divisional councils must remain as they now stand while awaiting further study. Provisions must be made for the appointment of colored and Indian representatives in the peripheral city councils in Transvaal, the Free State and Natal.

Members of the Chinese population must obtain full rights at a local administrative level and exercise them in the communities in which they live.

The committees recommend that communities which are too small to meet the requirements of an autonomous municipality must be able to elect one or more representatives, on a district basis, to the local administration which concerns them. If the community does not justify a district standing or is located in a region where a district system is not applicable, it shall (in accordance with the discretion of the minister or administrator) have the right to appoint at least one representative in the existing local administration.

If the taxable value of the properties of such a small community or if its numbers are too small for creating a district or if the community has never justified a representative, then the people there must be incorporated in the closest suitable district on the basis of their own voters roll until such a time when the taxable value of their property increases or their numbers have increased sufficiently. It shall always be the right of any minority group within an area to form an independent local administration provided the criteria set down by the committees are met.

According to the report, municipal districts are to be delimited on the basis of the taxable value of the properties there. Each district must have equal representation in each local administration.

#### Instrument

The committees recommend that the evaluation of properties, with respect to raising the taxes, must be done by impartial statutory councils in each district or province. They are to be appointed by the minister or administrator. Evaluations must be reviewed on a regular basis.

The report states that during the transition from the administrative committee to local administration there must be a form of continuity. There will have to be collaboration between leaders and officials in

order to put the recommended new order of things into practice. Thus reform at the level of local government can become a very important instrument for greater collaboration and for constitutional, social and economic reform in South Africa.

The link between local administration and the central Department for Local Administration, and its minister who must play a coordinating role should be achieved by way of a coordinating council in which entities such as the Union Municipal Administration, municipal associations, local administrations and even multi-purpose corporations, metropolises, corporate bodies such as the Electricity Supply Corporations, water councils and transportation advisory councils, can serve. Besides practical problems this council must give attention to the formulation of policy through consensus. The council can also be instrumental in the creation of an entity for arbitration for settling administrative differences at the level of local administration.

The committees urgently recommend that the Commission for Administration in consultation with universities and technical colleges, launch an on-the-job training program for officials and also offer development programs to members of the council. A recruitment campaign for workers in local administration must be started immediately in order to cope with the acute work force shortages.

Legal provisions must be made for collaborative agreements between local administrations in South Africa bordering with self-ruling and independent black states (administrations like Umlazi and Mdantsane), according to the report.

#### Proposals Accepted Unanimously

The recommendations of the Committee for Economic Affairs and the Constitutional Committee with respect to a new order of things on a local and district administrative level have been accepted unanimously by all the members. Six members of the two committees are colored.

The members are: Dr S.W. van der Merwe (coordinating chairman and chairman of the Committee for Economic Affairs), Dr D.J. Worrall (chairman of the Constitutional Committee), Mr J.L. Horak, Mr D.G. Janse van Rensburg, Mr W.C. Dempsey, Commandant L.F. Porter, Mr A.M. van Schoor, Mr I.J. du P. Basson, Mr J.M. Henning, Mr W.M. Sutton, Mr T.J. Booyens, Mr A.G. deWitt, Mr L.S. Léon, Mr L.V. du Preez, Mr W.S. Africa, Prof H.J. Strauss, Mr J.P. Cronje, Mr J.A.J. Pickard, Mr B. Landau, Prof A.R.C. de Crespigny, Mr R.C. Webb, Attorney D.A. Neser, Mr M. Rajab, Dr J.J.S. Weidemann, Attorney L. Pienaar and Mr G. Munsook.



## Taxation and Money Redistribution

Capetown DIE BURGER in Afrikaans 13 May 82 p 12

[Text] Comprehensive recommendations on reforming the basis of taxation and on the system of providing services on the local administrations as well as on the redistribution of incomes between the various communities are contained in the report of Presidential Council's Committee for Economic Affairs and Constitutional Committee regarding an alternative local administration.

Various ways are being suggested for providing greater incomes to local administrations as well as a better way of distributing the income among the various population groups within the jurisdictional areas of local administrations. Among the things proposed is that the existing income from business licenses be expanded to also include professional services and that incomes from motor vehicle licenses and amusement taxes must be shared by the area from which these originate.

According to the report a distinction must be made at the local administration level between the provision of major services on the part of the major executive bodies and the provision of petty services which must be provided by the elected minor local authorities.

What is meant by major services are such things as projects like providing water and electricity, sewer facilities, fire-fighting and professional services, while petty services cover such things as reticulation, the maintenance of parks and swimming pools and providing facilities for relaxation. The major bodies can be the appointed district councils, development councils, metropolitan councils or even utility companies.

### Capabilities

The nature, extent and content of the services which are to be undertaken by a certain local authority may fluctuate from extremely limited to comprehensive depending on the capabilities of the major executive bodies. The criterion must always be to provide the best quality of service at the lowest unit cost for the benefit of the general public.

The extent and diversity of services provided by the local authorities will be affected by the process and rate of urbanization (a universal phenomenon which continues to make bigger demands on planning even in South Africa), finances and administration. Separation and rationalization of functions therefore requires special flexibility for accommodating this process.

In South Africa, where the free enterprise system is practiced, maximum participation by the private sector in providing goods and services should be pursued. In so doing the problem of providing appropriate and suitable personnel can be surmounted.

From the information on the financing of local administration now available it is very clear that new financing formulas will have to be found which are closer in line with the capabilities or incapacities of communities to pay, in view of the fact that the income from tax on properties of the coloreds and Indians is extremely low and there is none at all from black properties. These facts should also lead to a closer connection with the government's intention of narrowing down the prosperity gap.

With respect to increasing the local governments' sources of income the report says that property taxes, which are now already high, could hardly be increased, especially if one considers that home ownership is being strongly encouraged by the government. Thus new sources of income which are spread out more evenly, will have to be found.

Prospects appear to be meager with respect to the redistribution of taxation resources from the higher governing bodies to the local ones since these resources are now completely committed. A reapportionment of resources will therefore also have to go hand in hand with a reapportionment of functions and responsibilities to the local governments must also create new administrative functions.

"However, it must be clearly understood that a decision of this nature will lead directly to a more just allotment of money between the local governments of the various communities. What are considered here are resources such as motor vehicle licenses, transfer dues, stamp dues and sales tax." This is how the report words this.

#### A More Equitable Distribution

Before new incomes for the local governments are created, in the South African circumstances of population heterogeneity and great differences in wealth, it will be necessary to first separate large scale and small scale functions and also adapt a program of purposeful elimination of a lingering and relative disparity. If this is not done a greater base of revenue will only widen the existing prosperity gap between the different population group groups.

In order to offset the present inbalance of distribution of existing sources of income from business centers, industrial areas, agriculture, mining areas, agriculture and government properties, most of which end up in white areas, the revenue which is derived from these sources must be distributed more justly in order to prevent future disparities. These revenues must be regarded as being "neutral" in the sense that they are not coupled with property taxes on homes.

The proposal is that any further recommendations on the assignment of "neutral" funds be referred to the Presidential Council by the ad hoc work-group (the Croser Committee) for comments by its Committee on Economic Affairs.

Since most of the white local governments are now experiencing serious shortages of money and all the revenues from existing sources are already committed, it is obvious that a more equitable redistribution must come about much later.

#### Decentralization

The report states: "The committee does not have sufficient information to give a broader opinion regarding redistribution except to say that a more reasonable order, based on per capita consumer spending per group, multiplied by the actual numbers of each group in a local area appears to be an acceptable point of departure.

It is furthermore recommended that existing sources of income from business licenses be expanded to also include professional services such as those of doctors, accountants, architects and lawyers. A tax on the business turnover of enterprises within a certain region could also provide considerable neutral income as would also tourist taxation and even amusement taxes. Employment levies could provide an additional source of income, however, this could contribute to greater unemployment unless this would be applied as a means of encouraging deconcentration of workers and jobs in compliance with the decentralization policy of the government.

If tax rates are kept realistically low such reforms of the basis for financing local administrations should not place too great a burden on the communities. To a large measure this should also rectify fiscal problems provided the following two rules are kept in mind:

#### Recommendations

Equal minimum standards of infrastructural services for all groups, and...

Determination of priorities on a broader democratic basis which presupposes an election arrangement in which every citizen within the jurisdiction of a local government can participate.

Because of the shortage of trained officials now being experienced by local governments everything possible must be done to train as many coloreds as possible as fully competent personnel of the local administrations. It appears to be impossible to fill all the vacancies from white ranks only.

Other financial recommendations in the report are as follows:

The Permanent Liaison Committee, which was proposed by the ad hoc work-group (Croeser Committee) and accepted and which will have the job of making recommendations on local administration matters must be appointed as soon as possible and be invested with the appropriate executive powers. The remaining tasks of the work group can be performed just as effectively by the Liaison Committee.

The implementation of a new fiscal basis for local administrations must take place simultaneously with the introduction of a new local administrative system held in prospect within the report.

#### Requirements

The work group's proposal for the establishment of joint services committees must be put into practice and the committees must be regarded as the fore-runners of metropolitan regional governments.

Revenues from motor vehicle licenses as well as from amusement taxes and transfer duties must accrue in favor of the places of origin.

The needs and capabilities of administrative councils and community councils must be taken into consideration in taxation and financing reforms.

The establishment of black municipalities will be supported wherever that is possible and desirable by the communities involved. At the same time black municipalities may be established only on the same basis and with the same rules set forth for municipalities.

#### Proposed Changes in Political Divisions

Capetown DIE BURGER in Afrikaans 13 May 82 p 12

[Text] The phasing out (within the next 4 years) of the provincial councils as the elected representative second level governments and their replacement by possibly eight district/provincial administrations with appointed administrators and executive committees at the head, is being recommended by a section of the two committees which have studied a new order of things on a local administration level.

In accordance with model A (a report on model B follows) the following is being proposed:

The decentralization of administration into a number of non-legislative district/provincial administrations with an administrator and executive committee at the head;

The gradual elimination of provincial councils as elected and representative second level governments;

The appointment by the government of new administrators and executive members with provisions made for coloreds and Indians in the executive committees;

The creation of a minister and central department for local government and the constitutional stipulation of relations between local and central government;

The creation of a coordinating council with the minister as the chairman, as a liaison between local administrations in urban and rural areas and the central government;

Also, the carrying out of a thorough study of the present provincial borders on the part of the Planning Committee of the Presidential Council.

#### Consensus

Proponents of this model are saying that, as representative, legislative and second level institutions, provincial councils must disappear in about 4 years. South Africa must (if possible) be divided into eight districts.

The responsibility for matters of local administration must be given to a minister of the central government. Direct liaison between the government department and the local administration must take place through a coordinating council in which organizations which provide services to local administrations must serve along with the representatives of the local administrations and under the chairmanship. Besides giving attention to practical matters one of this council's tasks must be the formulation of policy by consensus.

Statutory advisory councils which must be bound to the Department for Local Administration must be created for the various district provinces in order to assist new or small local administrations. Professional areas such as engineering, personnel administration, law enforcement and township planning must be represented in these councils. Besides these advisory councils each district/province must also get an assessment chief and a township council which must also be bound to the Ministry for Local Administration which must resolve differences at a local administrative level.

#### Good Hope

The present administrative arrangement which manages provincial councils is being retained through the deconcentrated district administrations of the Department of Health, National Education and Transportation. Public Works will have to be transferred to the central Department of Community Development; traffic control to the local police administrations, natural conservation to the National Parks Council, public order to a quasi-autonomous appointed council of trustees of all population groups, library services to local administrations and city (town) planning also to local governments, where it should be. Provincial control over local administration must be lifted in due course of time.

Districts will possibly (but not necessarily) have the same borders as the proposed districts for industrial development as put into prospect last year by the prime minister at the Good Hope deliberations. The Planning Committee of the Presidential Council can carry out an expert study on the grouping of districts. The four existing provincial "governments" will therefore be changed into eight special district/provincial administrations to conduct certain faculties and functions on behalf of the central government. Although

the deconcentration appears like political centralization, this is not altogether true. All the foregoing departments and other government departments are already functioning more or less at the local administration level or are using the local administrations as agents. In the process the provinces will be losing their legislative powers by transferring some of them to the central government and the others to local administrations.

As the motivation for this model its advocates are, among other things, going by the testimony they have heard regarding the desirability of limiting provincial control over the larger local administrations, the rising costs of maintaining the four separate provinces and the fact that provinces do not have direct taxing faculty. Other national groups part in a depoliticized administration and in so doing it will be possible to create a more reasonable arrangement without the additional costs of duplicating or tripling services. The proposal does not substantially alter the status of administrators or of members of the executive committees.

In addition the advocates of model A say that the collaboration of all national groups (including the blacks) with the major services cannot logically be avoided. If the provincial councils in their present form are allowed to continue with the same faculties it will be difficult to form an idea of what the relations will be with the black local administrations. The present term of the provincial councils will probably not be affected by these proposals and the proposals can be reviewed after 1986. According to the report the administrators and executive committees must end up getting a great deal of decision-making faculty in accordance with this proposal.

#### Proposed Changes--Model B

Capetown DIE BURGER in Afrikaans 13 May 82 p 12

[Text] The retention of provincial councils with representation for the coloreds and Indians and the creation of a department for local and provincial government in which one colored person and one Indian must serve "at least" as deputy ministers, has been proposed by a portion of the Committee for Economic Affairs and the Constitutional Committee.

As the committees were unable to attain unanimity on the future of the provincial systems in a new order, two proposals were made in this respect. Accordingly model B proposes that:

The present provinces be increased to possibly eight: three in the Cape Province, three in Transvaal and one each in the Free State and Natal;

Representatives of whites, colored and Indians, elected on the basis of independent voters rolls, will serve in the provincial councils (independent voters rolls will insure justified representation for each group);

The very likely devolution of executive power to provincial councils be accepted and actually applied;

The question of qualifications for provincial voting rights and the number of representatives for each group to be determined by the Constitutional Committee;

Each administrator be assisted by an executive committee consisting of elected representatives of the various communities and legally constituted in accordance with the representation of the communities in the council in question;

A department for local and provincial government be created with members of the colored and Indian national groups who are to serve at least in the capacity of deputy ministers.

#### New Provinces

According to this proposal persons now having second level government voting rights are to keep those rights. Every member of the executive committee must vote there in the same manner as now the case may be. Provincial councils must not get the original legislative powers, however, the very likely devolution of executive power must devolve on the councils. Existing ordinances must remain legal and binding while a committee of experts can recommend which ordinances of parts thereof must be repealed by Parliament. The faculty of councils to proclaim regulations must be applicable mostly on matters which have been completely or mostly depoliticized, such as farm roads and natural conservation.

A maximum autonomy must be granted to local administrations in their jurisdictions, but the controlling functions of the provincial councils over these administrations must continue. The extent of the controls must be determined by expert investigation. The Presidential Council must be asked to make recommendations with regard to the delimitation of the new provinces.

#### Retain Powers

Council members are to be elected for a term of 5 years and the administrator appointed for a term of 7 years.

Proponent of this model say that people and other entities who are in favor of the abolishment of provincial councils are in the minority. However, many people are of the opinion that provincial frontiers and the powers which provinces have, particularly over the bigger cities, must be reviewed.

The proponents have found that functions such as macro-planning, formulation of policy and legislation on such things as roads, traffic matters, education, health and welfare services must remain tasks for the central government. Provincial administrations should retain their present (and preferably more) executive powers in these fields.

The functions of the proposed provincial councils should include regulations which in the opinion of the state president fell within the jurisdiction of the provinces.

Subject to the laws of Parliament, the administrator and executive committee should be responsible for the budget of the province. The councils should, moreover, be responsible for the administration, coordination, planning, development of, and advice over, matters which are delegated to them through parliamentary legislation. The councils must also have the power to establish fines for the violation of any of their regulations.

#### One Council

According to its proponents the proposal has the advantage that the duplication and overlapping of work will be eliminated. The proposal is, moreover, consonant with the government's program of rationalization in the civil service. Scarce labor force will be saved and the available work force will be utilized in the best possible manner. Second level government would be brought closer to the people, especially in the rural regions, while the necessary powers and advantages of the present system would be retained.

The democratic principles are being maintained because of all three national groups would be electing their own representatives in a provincial council. Sufficient representation would be given to rural regions and significant joint responsibility on a second level government would be given to whites, coloreds and Indians.

#### Alternatives for Second Level Government

Capetown DIE BURGER in Afrikaans 13 May 82 p 12

[Text] Two proposals have been made by the Committee for Economic Affairs and the Constitutional Committee on the role of the provincial councils in a future order of things.

Going by the first proposal the provincial councils would gradually be abolished over a period of a few years and then replaced with (possibly) eight district or provincial administrations, the administrator and the members of the executive committees of which would be appointed by the government.

The other proposal entails the retention of the provincial councils, but would reform them to make provisions for direct representation for the coloreds and Indians.

The report says that the members of the two committees could not attain unanimity on the future of the present second level government and the decision was made to propose two models. The other proposals of the committees were adopted unanimously.



## Single Education Ministry with Coloreds, Indians

Capetown DIE BURGER in Afrikaans 13 May 82 p 12

[Text] A single ministry of education and one Department of National Education with one colored person and one Indian with at least a rank of deputy ministers is being proposed for South Africa by a section of the committee which has studied a new order on a local and district administration level. The same applies for the Department of Health and Welfare.

The proposals on education were made by that part of the committee which wants to maintain the provincial councils under a new arrangement. This group proposes that the greatest possible autonomy be granted at a third government level to schools which are serving different communities. Parents and teachers must be able to have a prominent share of decision making at this level.

This part of the committee says that it is aware of the sensitivity and importance of education at a provincial level. The proponents subscribe to the 11 principles formulated by the Council for Humanities Research committee which investigated education and to the reaction to this by the government in an interim memorandum.

They propose the creation of a single ministry for education "to fulfill the requirements for a national educational policy aimed at equal opportunities and equal quality and standards in education." The minister will determine a "macro-policy" including financing and standards and carry out this policy on advice from the statutory South African Educational Council through educational establishments which must be created at the various levels of government. The Educational Council must represent all interested groups.

It is furthermore proposed that a single Department of National Education be created at a central government level. In order to conduct this "macro-policy" it will be necessary to create three branches having executive powers for seeing to the educational requirements for whites, coloreds and Indians. Members of the colored communities must have at least the rank of deputy ministers in this department.

The eight provinces which this part of the committee proposes must be regarded as "delineated regions" where second level education administrations must be created. One or more decentralized sections of the executive branch of the Department of National Education are to be created, depending on the requirements of each province. Each of these will have a competent official as its head who will be appointed after consultation with the appropriate executive committee. On the one hand such a person will be responsible to the minister and on the other to the executive committee and among other things he will conduct a national "macro-policy" within the financial framework of the state.

## Broad Principles

Recommendations made on a third government level entail the greatest possible autonomy for schools serving the various communities. Here parents and educators must be able to make a major portion of the decisions. With an eye to the "division of community interests and the strengthening of collaborative activities" and the definition and promotion of educational facilities in a region, it will be necessary to establish one or more associations of schools in the provinces. This can be in the form of "school councils" where provincial and/or local civilian or educational managements can be represented.

This part of the committee says that the same broad principles being proposed for education should also apply to roads, traffic matters, health and welfare services.

## Coloreds, Indians Direct Participation in Education

Capetown DIE BURGER in Afrikaans 13 May 82 p 19

[Text] Direct participation at a local administration level for coloreds and Indians who cannot set up viable municipalities, full participation at a provincial level for those groups in district administrations and the appointment of coloreds to at least the rank of deputy ministers in three central government departments has been proposed by two committees of the Presidential Council to the state president.

A joint report by the Committee for Economic Affairs and by the Constitutional Committee which have studied a new order at a local and district administration level in South Africa was submitted to the Presidential Council yesterday.

The committees recommend an equal, multiple municipal voting right with qualifications which will apply to whites, coloreds and Indians. The recommendations were unanimously submitted by all the members of the committees (six of whom are colored) and these are to bring about far reaching changes in all three administrative levels of government if accepted by the government.

According to Mr Alwyn Schlebusch, the vice-state president and chairman of the council, the proposals in this report and the recommendations being made by the Constitutional Committee regarding the central government will initiate a process of meaningful changes in the constitution whether the report is accepted as a whole or not.

The most important characteristics of the recommendations regarding local and district administration are:

The assurance that members of each of the population groups will have a meaningful say in government at a local level which affects their lives from day to day, and also at a district or provincial level;

Abolishment of discrimination and equal treatment of all three groups with respect to measures, voting rights qualifications and monetary matters, but with the recognition of group rights, the heterogeneity of this society and the right of minorities to protection;

Acceptance of the principle of the greatest possible transfer of power (devolution) and greater independence to homogeneous lower level administrations with the stipulation that autonomy at a municipal level should not be arbitrarily forced on groups, also, the decentralization of administration;

Two alternatives on the future of the provincial councils, one of which will imply the abolition of these councils;

Also, the creation of additional sources of income for local administrations.

The committees recommend that the coloreds must serve in a new Department of Local Administration in a Department of National Education and in the Department of Health and Welfare, in "at least" the capacity of deputy ministers.

The committees could not reach unanimity with respect to the future of the provincial councils and the decision was made to submit two proposals. According to one of the proposals the councils are to be eliminated gradually over a period of 4 years. The country is to be divided in possibly eight districts with appointed administrators and executive committees in which the coloreds must also serve.

#### Deficiencies

The other proposal entails the retention of the provincial councils, increasing them to possibly eight, direct election of the coloreds to the councils and their participation in the executive committees also as appointed administrators.

The two committees have looked into the deficiencies in the present system of local and district administrations and they have found that the question of representation and money matters have caused the biggest problems. Proposals are being made in an attempt to resolve these. These include principles, a broad philosophy and the framework of a model for healthy local and district administration of the country.

#### The Blacks

The committees say that they cannot ignore the position of blacks in local administrative matters. Their participation to appointed metropolitan or area administrations which will be responsible for the main services is being proposed. Their political rights over and above the local level must be realized through their national states or confederal units. This is what they said.

The committees propose measures which must be complied with before an area can become an autonomous municipality. Ethnicity must not be the determining factor because practical circumstances sometimes can render a purely ethnic composition of a local administration impossible.

The measures apply to all groups, including the blacks, and one of these is that the people affected must express their wish to become autonomous local administrations.

#### Chairmen

Provisions are being made for representation of minority groups which are unable to form viable municipalities in existing local administrations. It is proposed that chairmen of executive committees for colored people and business neighborhood committees for Indians must obtain seats, with full rights "as soon as possible" in white municipalities and divisional councils (in the Cape Province) as an interim measure. This nominal representation must be valid until the minority administration becomes autonomous or until its territory can be divided into districts on the basis of taxable property values.

According to the district system more members of the minority, on an independent voters roll can serve in the administration of the majority. This arrangement is applicable throughout and also includes white minorities.

Provisions are made for very small communities to have at least one representative in the local administration of concern to them (even in divisional councils in the Cape Province). For example part of a district for whites can be added to a colored district so as to make the latter viable and be able to have at least one representative.

#### Chinese

According to the committees colored persons must be appointed in the suburban councils in Transvaal, the Free State and Natal and according to the proposals minorities have the right of forming an autonomous administration at any time if they can comply with these requirements.

The committees recommend that the Chinese obtain full municipality rights in the areas where they reside.

A weighted, or loaded multiple municipal voting right system with qualifications which are the same for each group is being proposed. According to this system the vote of a property owner or an investor within a municipal area will have more weight than that of someone who does not have any property.

The committees propose the separation of functions between elected local administrations (municipalities) and metropolitan or area administrations. Municipalities must provide the sensitive services while the major services are to be provided by metropolitan or area administrations. The committees are of the opinion that up to seven metropolitan administrations can be created in South Africa. They propose an expert investigation into this matter.

Recommendations on additional sources of revenue for local administrations, the redistribution of money to underdeveloped areas, the establishment of minimum standards for all local administrations and the elimination of obsolete infrastructure and a training program for officials are also being made.

The report of the two committees will be discussed in the Presidential Council within the next few days. The council cannot alter the contents of the report but it can make comments on it and accept motions based on the report.

#### A Glimpse of Local Administration

Capetown DIE BURGER in Afrikaans 13 May 82 p 13

[Text] This is how the order for local and district administration will look in South Africa if the recommendations of the Committee for Economic Affairs and the Constitutional Committee are accepted:

At the very lowest level there will be autonomous elected municipalities for each group. Minority groups will be getting a representative in the majority's administration as an interim measure. If later on the minority cannot or will not form an autonomous administration it will be able to obtain more representation in the majority if its area can be viably divided in more than one district. The minority group can at any time form an autonomous administration if certain measures are met. These measures can be applied depending on the possibility of the inclusion of the administration into a metropolitan/district body or on the possibility that arrangements with another local administration or private enterprise are made to provide services on a contract basis.

The same arrangements are applicable for divisional councils in the Cape Province while representatives of the coloreds and Indians in peripheral urban areas will get representation in the other provinces. The primary local administrations are responsible for "soft" services.

Each local autonomous administration (even those of the blacks) will then appoint at least one representative in metropolitan or regional administration in which service providing organizations such as the Electricity Supply Corporation and water councils will also have representative who will be responsible for the "hard" services.

The committees say that with respect to the second level the country will possibly have to be divided into eight districts. There are two recommendations on the composition of these district/provincial administrations. The one alternative is the abolition of the provincial councils and the creation of appointed executive committees and administrators. The other alternative entails the retention of the elected provincial councils, direct representation for the coloreds in these councils, increasing the number of councils to eight and an administrator and executive committee at the head of each one. The coloreds are also to serve in the executive committees.

At the central level a Department for Local Administration is to be created headed by a minister and colored deputy ministers. Liaison between this department and the local administration will take place through a coordinating council in which representatives of the local administrations, area/metropolitan administrations, services corporations, the Electricity Supply Corporation, water councils and transportation advisory councils will be serving.

#### Alternative Form of Local Administration

Capetown DIE BURGER in Afrikaans 13 May 82 p 13

[Text] The establishment of at least seven metropolitan governments in urban South African areas is being advocated in the report of the Constitutional Committee and the Committee for Economic Affairs regarding an alternative form of local administration in South Africa.

According to the report South African circumstances together with overseas experience are making the consideration of establishing a metropolitan government system in the country a matter of the greatest importance.

In the light of the complexity of metropolitan government in South Africa it is being recommended that a careful study by experts on the establishment of metropolitan governments in the thickly populated regions of the country be initiated.

In the foreseeable future at least seven metropolitan based local governments are envisaged. These are: Pretoria and surroundings, Central Witwatersrand including the West Rand, the East Rand, the Valdehoek, Durban, Pinetown and surroundings, Port Elizabeth, Despatch and Uitenhage and finally the Cape Peninsula and surroundings.

#### Other Areas

All these areas are in need of certain municipal services which are market versed and capital intensive and which will have to count on advanced administration and control. Among the services which must be planned, co-ordinated and controlled are: planning, road and street programs, storm water control systems, distribution of electricity, water supply and distribution, transportation, fire-fighting services, sewer disposal and purification and disposal of insoluble and poisonous refuse.

Services which are not so capital intensive such as parks, playfields, cultural centers, libraries, swimming pools, sidewalks, etc. can be handled by the various local administrations within the metropolitan areas concerned.

## Shortcomings

According to the report the above mentioned few metropolitan areas are not all which can be administered in this manner. The same principles can also be put into practice in other urban areas and also in rural areas in accordance with circumstances, requirements and the choice of the inhabitants involved.

The object is to place decision making and final responsibility for their well being in the hands of the local communities and their elected representatives wherever this is possible.

The expectation is that metropolitan or district administrations will have a couple of primary administrations such as town councils or the like, as a basis. Although a universally applicable system would be preferable, the importance of flexibility is recognized so that systems which are reconcilable with the circumstances involved can be developed. The report takes into consideration the fact that there are divergent views among the present large local administrations regarding the desirability of establishing a formalized metropolitan authority.

Among the shortcomings of the present system of local administration in metropolitan areas as mentioned in the report are:

Only whites have meaningful representation in local governments and effective participation in decision making. In the light of future economic development requirements of the country it is evident and desirable that representation and participation in decision making. In the light of future economic development requirements of the country it is evident and desirable that representation and participation is made possible for the other population groups.

The lack of sufficient financial resources for enabling local administrations to carry out their tasks efficiently.

## Fragmentation

Local authorities are under the supervision of officials of the provincial councils who are not intimately involved in the problems and activities of local governments. Provincial authorities do not have to give reasons for their decisions and provincial administrations do not have to give a direct account of themselves to the local electors.

In the present system there is fragmentation of planning, execution and administrative functions.

Planning and development for whites are channeled through the various provincial administrations while in the case of the coloreds and Indians this is done through the Department of Community Development and Government Auxiliary Services. The local administration of blacks is handled through community councils which do not have the necessary finances and power and are forced to operate through the administrative councils at the Department of Collaboration and Development.

Uncoordinated planning is leading to large scale duplication and wasted labor force.

The accelerated economic and industrial development which followed the Second World War brought greater demand for administration, especially in urban areas.

#### More on Alternatives A and B

Capetown DIE BURGER in Afrikaans 13 May 82 p 13

[Text] Two points of view on the qualifications for municipal voting rights are given in the report of the Committee for Economic Affairs and the Constitutional Committee. In both recommendations, however, there is a proposal for a weighted or loaded multiple voting right which must apply to all groups.

These are the two alternatives:

Alternative A: Each inhabitant of age 18 or more gets one vote; property owners or occupiers of taxable real estate property get two votes each (one vote as a property owner or occupier and one as inhabitant). Corporative or "fictitious" votes: One vote or a maximum of two or three depending on the number of taxable or taxed units.

Alternative B: A registered owner of real estate property gets two votes. The occupant of real estate having a minimum value to be determined from time to time gets one vote. Each corporate or "fictitious" person who occupies real estate having a minimum value to be determined from time to time gets one vote.

#### Direction Indicators

In both instances it is proposed that the definition of "occupier" be the one contained in the Cape Province's ordinance of 1974.

The committees propose that the voting rules to be decided shall be embodied in constitutional legislation. The existing voting right system must be retained up to the time that the recommendations of the committees become effective. The report says that the owner of real estate property has a definite right in the assets of his area. A renter is also an inhabitant of the area and is also investing his income, or a part of it, in the area. Although everybody in an area contributes to it in one way or another, there are those that demand that their votes in local affairs be given more weight, because they are not only inhabitant, but they are also paying taxes. It is being said that: "These arguments are the direction indicators pointing the way to the resolution of the voting right problem at a local government level."



The committees say that all national groups must have meaningful participation in decision making at a local level. Although this participation must be as broad as possible a loaded multiple voting right system is desirable. The right of each person who makes a material contribution to the well being of his community to have a say in community matters must be recognized. The municipal voting right must be expanded to include corporate business enterprises on a uniform countrywide basis.

#### Conditions Determining Local Administrations

Capetown DIE BURGER in Afrikaans 13 May 82 p 13

[Text] Proposals which will make it impossible to force an autonomous administration upon a community are contained in the report of the Committee for Economic Affairs and the Constitutional Committee.

The report also states that each community must have the right to get an "autonomous" local administration. Certain measures which are also applicable for the creation of municipalities for blacks are set forth in the report for autonomous local administrations. These include the following conditions:

The people involved must express the desire of becoming independent local administrations;

The area must be able to be delineated as a geographically separable unit;

The size of the area and its level of development must be sufficient to make independent progress and necessary expansion possible;

It must have sufficient revenue sources for covering the cost of services and other activities for which the administration will be responsible;

There must be a sufficient number of trained and experienced personnel and local leaders.

The foregoing standards can be applied provided there is the possibility of including the administration in a metropolitan or district body or the possibility that arrangements with another local administration or private enterprise can be made to provide services on a contract basis.

According to the report ethnicity in the existing residential area pattern can be a factor around which a local administration can be organized. But this must not be the only determining factor if the other criteria for well being are not met.

## Experts

Local administrations must have legislative powers to suit their responsibilities and they must have the right to obtain loans and other development financing.

A committee of experts appointed by the minister for local development or the administrator must undertake a study and make a report on whether the establishment of a new local administration is desirable or not. The community for which a study for local self-government is being made by the committee must have the right to serve on the committee. After considering the report of the committee the minister or the administrator can approve or disapprove the new administration.

## Providing 'Soft' and 'Hard' Services

Capetown DIE BURGER in Afrikaans 13 May 82 p 13

[Text] Separation of "soft" and bulk "hard" services at a local administration level is being proposed by the two committees.

Services which are sensitive for the community must be provided by autonomous elected local administrations for each homogeneous group while bulk or large scale services can be attended to by area administrations.

The committees say that many, if not most of the services provided by local administrations are simply welfare and business services which do not necessarily have to come from an administrative entity. Moreover, unit costs for the local consumer can be lowered through capacity savings and by the fact that such services are usually provided on a large scale. Examples are the provision of services through a management like a metropolitan organization (city), district organization (rural) or a service organization which can be a utility company.

Some of the services provided by local administrations can, however, also be community-sensitive or cultural-sensitive, such as swimming pools, community halls and residential areas. Usually the community itself wants to provide these. The committees say that further technical studies are necessary for determining how to best distinguish between small and bulk services.

A division of functions is based on the views that two administrations at a local level can provide services without the need of creating another government level. The elected "primary" administration will provide the more sensitive services and it will, in addition, create metropolitan or services corporations to provide bulk services to the participating primary administrations. Each local administration will have at least one representative in such a body.

The service entity will borrow its competency entirely from the participating primary administration. This form of service can be compared with the local services which are now being provided by such organizations as the Electricity Supply Corporation, the water councils and transportation advisory councils and even with services which are provided by a principal city or town to another administration on a contract basis.

The committees say that district services which are now provided to the rural areas can also be adapted to the bulk service system at a saving.

Divisional councils and other autonomous peripheral urban local administration must continue to perform their development functions and services as they are now doing, according to the report.

The committees say that they cannot contest the necessity of control in one or another form over municipal administrations. However, they have come to the conclusion that there exists unnecessary prescribed control on local administrations on the part of the central government.

#### Things Which Must Be Considered at All Government Levels

Capetown DIE BURGER in Afrikaans 13 May 82 p 13

[Text] Any new order at a local administrative level must meet the requirements of full citizen and political rights. This is what the committees which have studied local and district administration are saying.

In their joint report the committees say that even reform at a local administrative level must not be coupled with either forced racial segregation or forced integration.

According to the committees the most important problems being faced by local administration systems in South Africa arise from the polarization which, for some reasons, has developed between the opponents of the policy of separate autonomous local administrations and the advocates of the present system.

The committees are unanimous in saying that the best way to bridge the gap between these two polarized ways of thinking is the greatest possible transfer of power (devolution) to local administrations of all homogeneous communities in their jurisdictions. While it is assumed that the existence of the present residential patterns will be reflected mostly in the ethnic character of the given local administration, the reform must not be coupled with enforced racial separation or forced integration.

#### Shortcomings

There are disturbing situations where non-viable islands of a population group are isolated in the residential areas of another group and have no liaison with autonomous local administrations.

Members of the committees acknowledged the various opinions on the further need of administrative committees, but there was little support for the summary abolition of these committees and there was the opinion that interim measures could improve the functioning of the administrative committees until a new order of things in which most of the problems could be ironed out becomes effective.

The present system has a lot of shortcomings affecting joint decision making by the various population groups involved, effectiveness in administrative and fiscal matters and relations with other government levels. Accommodations have become urgently necessary but in this matter one must take into account historical institutions, inter-ethnic relations, the right of self-determination and the protection of minorities and homogeneous groups.

### Constitution

In their report the committees say that a process of reform must create social and economic opportunities in a society and render possible greater participation in decision making processes. The local administration is the level in which the citizen and the government have the closest contact. Through decentralization government must be brought as close as possible to the citizen.

A reformed, pliable system of local government is necessary for urban and rural areas. Pliability is extremely important and must be fixed in a new constitution.

### Respect

In a chapter on points of departure, criteria and directives, the committees say that the task of recommending forms of administration on a local and district level which can accommodate the rightful aspirations of all communities is complicated by such things as vested interests, social and economic differences and the heterogeneity of South African society. The committees have tried to find a balance between white interests and expectations on the one hand and the equally justified interests and expectations of the colored community on the other.

To the basic question of how democratic the end product of their study must be, the committees replied that it must meet the demands of full citizenship and political rights. Expressed in negative terms this means that the committees are committed not to recommend forms of government which are discriminatory to the participating groups.

The committees believe that in any future order, government at all levels must promote and respect individual and group freedom, equality of opportunity and justice, protection of identity and self-respect, social welfare and material well-being and internal and external peace and security. According to the opinion of the committees any government system must take into consideration the following things:

South Africa has a heterogeneous population with a great deal of ethnic differences;

If there is no secure mechanism for the protection of individual and group rights, then a conflict is probable;

Ethnic groups must be accommodated in such a manner that their differences are neither denied nor accentuated;

South Africa has reached a state in its political development in which group dominance must be eliminated and the rights of minorities assured;

Coexistence between groups and the elimination of a dominating government shall prevail through collaboration;

In the last analysis collaboration will depend on consensus;

South Africa needs a strong government and any possibility of crippling the government must never be allowed to arise; thus if consensus cannot be attained mechanisms must be put into operation for the purpose of bridging differences of opinion in order to insure an effective government;

#### Adaptations

In order to insure both individual and group rights, accommodate differences of opinion and prevent conflict between the government bodies, there is a need for mechanisms for bringing about equilibrium between the various governing bodies;

The new constitutional order must be able to adapt to further adjustments and broadenings.

#### Failure of Administrative Committees; Testimony

Capetown DIE BURGER in Afrikaans 13 May 82 p 13

[Text] The coloreds' and Indian's rejection of the administrative committees system is now connected with most of their rejections of the policy of apartheid; this according to the report of the Presidential Council's Committee for Economic Affairs and the Constitutional Committee for a new order of things on local administration in South Africa.

The report considers the failure of the system of the administrative committees as a form of inward expression of the coloreds, and the neighborhood business committees for the Indians as one of biggest shortcomings in the present system of local administration.

The coloreds and Indian rejection of separation also includes strong opposition against separate residential areas and schools because mandatory separation is identified with inequality and poverty as well as with other socio-economic problems. In the course of testimony the Group Areas Act was sharply attacked over and over again especially by colored witnesses.

At the same time the policy of separation with respect to residential areas and school facilities remains an extremely sensitive question among whites. The committees listened to many witnesses and this indicated that the white community is strongly opposed to integrated neighborhoods.

#### Real Fears

The witnesses involved (who perhaps represented the largest number of white voters in South Africa) felt that in all fairness they are entitled to their choices. The problem which nobody in the country can avoid is the recognition of the profusion of different societies in the South African situation and the need for an honest analysis in an attempt to reconcile preferences, advantages and differences for the sake of peaceful reform.

In this process the rights of minorities and real fear about future security must be recognized and respected. Certain population groups do have real grievances. Their fear that an order of things which will regard them unfair and unappeasable and which will last indefinitely must be seriously taken up.

Most of the white testimony shows the recognition that the progress of the coloreds and Indians at the local administration level under the system of administrative committees leaves much to be desired, however, as a development stage, the system could still be used in a positive manner if certain problems of the past, especially shortcomings in personnel, insufficient financing and the unwillingness of local leaders to come forward are eliminated.

#### Biggest Complaints

White witnesses frequently recognized the failure of maintaining the correct attitude toward the administrative committees on the part of many white local administrations and it is striking that the best examples of successful collaboration between white local administrations and colored administrative committees are to be found in rural areas--with some exceptions.

"The system of administrative committees can be more effective if relations are good and if everyone's contributions to the well being of all communities are mutually recognized by the population groups." This is how the report reads.

The most important complaints on the administrative committees as apparent from the testimony, are the following:

The weak fiscal basis of the administrative committees resulting from the preponderance of sub-economic housing and general poverty which result in the absence of sufficient taxable sources for the committees to assure them a sufficient supply of money for at least guaranteeing a minimum standard of services and facilities. Instead of that they are burdened with heavily subsidized sleepy towns which do not have any business, industry, mining and agricultural areas;

## Great Reasons

The lack of any share in joint decision making. "The fact that administrative committees are just advisory bodies, they are dissatisfied with their delegated powers and their representations are often not given a sympathetic hearing remains a valid complaint in many instances;"

The insufficiency of qualified personnel and training facilities;

The lack of interest (often for understandable reasons) on the part of many competent people to assume leadership in local matters is a recognized fact;

Insufficient land and space for expansion which leads to limited home ownership opportunities for rich people, provides great reasons for concern. The same factor also places a limit in the supply of residences in general;

## Directives

The fact that administrative committees are established without proper consultation and general consent of the various population groups and,...

The fact of widespread opposition to the Group Areas Act and to the principle of mandatory separation have contributed to the rejection of the administrative committees system.

Still another shortcoming of the local administration system in South Africa is the fact that there is no uniform system of rural local administration in the four provinces. Members of divisional councils are appointed in the Cape Province; in Transvaal members for the Council for Peri-Urban Regions; in Natal for the Council for Development and Services and in the Free State for the Council for Control over Regional Small Holdings. But no colored or Indian representatives serve in these councils.

A complaint which is frequently heard by the committees has to do with the unnecessary controls and directives exercised over local administrations on the part of the provincial administrations and the central government. According to some of the testimony this handicaps the effective functioning of the local administrations. These complaints assume special importance in the cases of large local administrations and cities.

## 1977 Nationalist Party Plan Criticized

Capetown DIE BURGER in Afrikaans 13 May 82 p 13

[Text] A portion of the Presidential Council's committee which is studying the new order for a local administrative level has expressed sharp criticism of the Nationalist Party's constitutional proposals of 1977 relating to provincial and regional administration.

The part of the committee which wants to keep the provincial councils pointed out a brochure issued by the Nationalist Party in October 1977 on the subject of a new political order of things for whites, coloreds and Indians. The Nationalist Party's plan would eventually end up with probably a total number of eleven district administrations, without legislative powers for the coloreds, and four provincial councils with legislative powers for the whites.

The increase in the number of councils and administrations would hamper effective government according to the report. It would be impossible for civil service to provide the necessary competent personnel for all these bodies. The fact that white provincial councils retain legislative authority is discriminatory and not conducive to good relations; so states the report.

#### State President's Directive to His Council

Capetown DIE BURGER in Afrikaans 13 May 82 p 13

[Text] The order to the Presidential Council to study an alternative form of local government was received from the state president last February.

State President Marais Viljoen opened the Presidential Council on 3 February of last year and in his opening speech he drew the council's attention to the following matters:

"First of all the expansion of local and district administrative systems taking into consideration geographic, financial and representation aspects and with special reference to certain studies undertaken and reports made on this subject." (The reports were made by the Yeld, Slater, Browne, Fouche and T.G. Schlebusch committees).

#### Decision

"Secondly, the evaluation of documents and testimony submitted to the constitutional committee which, as reported, will be passed on to the council with an eye to advice about the adaptation of political structures in South Africa. Naturally the council can demand additional testimony and documents in connection with this matter."

The chairmen of the five committees of the council met on 13 February of last year under the chairmanship of the council and decided that all the committees should make contributions in carrying out all the orders. With respect to the first order the Committee for Economic Affairs should act as coordinating committee, while the Constitutional Committee will put together the work which will go into the second order. By virtue of a decision of last June the responsibility for the presentation of a report and recommendations on the first order was given to the Committee for Economic Affairs and the Constitutional Committee with the chairman of the former committee as the coordinator.



## Success of Reforms Necessitates Total Collaboration

Capetown DIE BURGER in Afrikaans 13 May 82 p 19

[Text] A statement of intention, also containing aims for blacks, is being recommended by the Constitutional Committee.

In its report the committee says that a considerable number of people who testified before it supported the acceptance of a statement of intentions. The most important justification was the fact that political reform is a process. Aside of the government's commitment to certain clearly described aims, such a statement will give leaders and their followers a picture of the kind of South Africa held out in prospect.

In such a statement it will not be just the colored communities which will be finding comfort in it, but also white South Africans who need to be reassured that their interests will not be adversely affected by the reform process.

The committee said that the participation of all communities concerned will be required if a process of reform is to succeed. This participation is necessary in order to put into action a consociative arrangement. The committee believes that a statement of intention will facilitate the process.

A statement of intention will include the most important hypotheses of the committee's recommendations as well as the commitment to institute a consociative arrangement between whites, coloreds and Indians. This will also contain a statement of intentions with regard to the blacks.

Besides providing for the abolition of discrimination, the statement will be serving as a basis for the joint management of the social and economic implications of political reform by leaders of the white, colored and Indian communities.

A statement of intentions can also be useful in another way. In the recent past leaders of the colored and Indian communities have been inclined to adopt a rather negative attitude toward government initiatives.

The committee believes that its first report, which the work of people with widely divergent cultures and political background and the suppositions, ideas and values which it reflects represents a challenge not only for government leaders but also for the leaders of all the communities.

The committee believes that it can rightfully expect the coloreds and Indians to consider the report with the same care and responsibility as it expects from the government. Although, due to the nature of this matter the government must take the lead in such a statement, the leaders of the colored and Indian communities should, in the opinion of the committee, take on the challenge of the report if they are to endorse such a statement.

## Changes in Decision Making Process

Capetown DIE BURGER in Afrikaans 13 May 82 p 19

[Text] In its report the Constitutional Committee says that it feels strongly that South Africa could be judged only through the participation of the coloreds and Indians in executive decision making.

The Schlebusch Committee of Investigation on the Constitution has already come to the conclusion that all population groups must take part in the process of building the constitution. A considerable measure of implementation has been given to that conclusion through the establishment of the Presidential Council. In view of the importance of the executive government with respect to formation of policy in general, as well as in certain cases, in connection with the implementation of reforms, the committee feels strongly about the participation of the coloreds in executive decision making.

### Changes

A step in this direction entails a change in the constitution. If the Committee's recommendations on the executive branch are accepted, this would result into an important change. The committee wishes to emphasize that the proposed changes in the executive body will not disturb the existing relative powers in the least. The changes can also be brought about with a minimum of delay.

The committee says that the recommendations it has made jointly with the Committee for Economic Affairs regarding the reforms at the second and third government levels will necessitate consequential changes in the executive authority. (The two Committees have proposed departments for local administration, national education, health and welfare).

The principle of participation at an executive level on the part of coloreds and Indians was also recognized by the two committees in their recommendations that representative members of these communities must serve in the provincial executive committees. The Constitutional Committee's considered opinion is that its commitment to the establishment of a government which is broadly representative and is accountable to the communities which it intends to serve should be applicable at all government levels. The committee must therefore institute a study on the ways in which colored and Indian communities can also take part in the process of policy formation and decision making at a national level.

The committee says that when the segmental nature of society is recognized then the next important step is in the direction of a consociative order to start building on a coalition of community leaders which is needed for any consociative system. The inclusion of representative colored and Indian people in the executive government must therefore be seen as a necessary preliminary step in the implementation of the new constitutional order.

## Later Report

The committee realizes that a change in the representative basis of Parliament is a very complicated matter, especially if one heeds the political and emotional importance of the principle of "parliamentary sovereignty." Besides having drawn certain broad conclusions the committee then proceeded to postpone this matter for a later report. However, the committee's recommendations on the future role of the Presidential Council are relevant with its views on the legislative function.

According to the report the committee will, as time goes on, provide the state president with advice on the remaining aspects of the constitution in accordance with the duties imposed on it.

## Amending the Group Areas Act

Capetown DIE BURGER in Afrikaans 13 May 82 p 19.

[Text] Amendments in the Group Areas Act to make possible a larger and mixed Group Areas Council having reviewing powers and the setting up of more business areas for all groups is being recommended by a joint committee of the Presidential Council.

In a report to the Presidential Council the committee, consisting of the Planning Committee and the Committee for Community Relations stated that "At this stage" it finds it inopportune to recommend the repeal of the act. The committee has studied the principles and application of the act and of its aspects affecting relations between population groups. It recommends that:

Legal provisions be made for representation in the Group Areas Council by all population groups, that the council be enlarged and be given review functions;

The Group Areas Act, the Separate Facilities Act, the Slums Act and the Community Development Act be replaced by a comprehensive act which ought to be called the Planning and Development of Communities Act;

Permanent committees of the Group Areas Council must also have at least one member of the group whose area is being studied;

Trade areas be opened to all groups to a greater extent, and...

Future groups areas be declared as such in good time.

## Study Follows Report on 6th District

The study of the joint committee on the principles and application of the Group Areas Act and its aspects affecting national relations followed an earlier report of the same committee on the application of this act in District 6 in Capetown and Pageview in Johannesburg.

In September of last year the committee had also recommended that the government appoint technical committees of experts for studying the application of this act while the joint committee went ahead with its study of the principles and aspects of application affecting national relations. The technical committee, the so-called Strydom Committee, is already engaged in its work. The report which the joint committee is now presenting contains findings and proposals regarding the commission assigned to it.

#### Equality for Whites, Coloreds and Indians

Capetown DIE BURGER in Afrikaans 13 May 82 p 19

[Text] In its report the Constitutional Committee states that a single political system which includes coloreds and Indians on an equal basis with the whites can succeed as a consociation-democracy in South Africa. This one of the points which the committee has accepted and, in its judgment, is of the greatest importance for building a constitution in South Africa.

For the black people the committee proposes the principle of partition.

A consociation-democracy for whites, coloreds and Indians can succeed because in the case of these people of color there are no important cultural differences and because there are favorable population numbers relationships, reconcilability of just interests and congruent political aims.

According to the report consociation democracy attains the inclusivity forming an intrinsic part of any democratic system by lessening the competition for power which is the other essential characteristic of democracy. The following are the four characteristics of consociation-democracy:

Government by a coalition of leaders ("grand coalition"), namely, political leaders of the important groups of the plural society;

Mutual veto, or assenting majority ("concurrent majority") government, which will serve as an additional protection of vital minority interests;

The principle of proportionality in determining political representation, civil service appointments and allotment of government money, and ...

High degree of autonomy for each group for managing their internal affairs.

By "concurrent majority" is meant--a majority consisting of various differing elements or interests whose concurrence with a proposal will be regarded as a necessary political requirement for the implementation of the proposal, even though a normal majority could legally be sufficient.

## The Blacks in a New South Africa

Capetown DIE BURGER in Afrikaans 13 May 82 p 10

[Text] Out of six political choices at a national level the constitutional Committee came out in favor of one on partition and consociation-democracy as its basis.

The committee's choice entails the continuation of the direction of the official political policy with respect to the blacks, namely, partition (in a confederal framework or not), and a consociation-democracy with respect to whites, coloreds and Indians.

The six choices as set out in the report were as follows:

1. One man, one vote, in each state (whether union or federal). This is based on the simple majority system.
2. Separate states for all population groups (whether in a confederal framework or not). This is based on partition.
3. The continuation of the official national policy with respect to blacks (either in a confederal framework or not) and a one man, one vote system for coloreds, Indians and whites. This is based on partition and simple majority system.
4. The official policy for blacks (whether in a confederal framework or not) and consociation-democracy with respect to whites, coloreds and Indians. This is based on partition and consociation-democracy.
5. The official policy for the blacks, but with the accommodation of blacks living outside the black states with the whites, coloreds and Indians, in a consociation-democracy. This is also based on partition and consociation-democracy.
6. The continuation of the direction of official national policy with respect to blacks in the black states but with the accommodation of the blacks living outside of the black states with the whites, coloreds and Indians on the basis of one man, one vote. This is based on partition and the simple majority system.

The committee gave preference to the fourth choice.

According to the report all the authorities and witnesses before the committee were not in favor of an all-inclusive system based on the simple majority system.

The second political choice did not have much support either and independent states for coloreds and Indians were also rejected by the government. This clashes with the committee's assumptions and findings and for pure and practical considerations is unacceptable. A national state for coloreds

would have to include the biggest portion of the Western Cape. The committee is convinced that there is not much support for this in colored ranks, although influential members of this national group had informed the committee that the colored community would view the creation of a colored state in the Western Cape in a more favorable light if a just constitutional order of things is not accepted by the government.

#### Greater Merits

The committee recognizes that the third choice (the continuation of the official national policy for blacks--whether or not in a confederal framework) and a single political order for coloreds, Indians and whites based on simple majority, has greater merits than the first two alternatives. The committee has always regarded the political interests of the whites on the one hand and those of the colored people and of the Indians on the other as reconcilable within a single political order. On the basis of the committee's findings regarding the inadequacy of a simple majority system in a plural society and its finding that group interests must be recognized in government institutions it does not recommend going in that direction.

The committee is also very much aware of the fact that in all three communities there are those who think that they have special interests which must find expression and that they want to have control over what they regard as vital group interests. However, the committee realizes that, at a stage of the now still unforeseeable future this alternative would appear to be an obvious force.

The fifth alternative (a consociation-democracy which would include the blacks outside the black states along with the whites, coloreds and Indians) was the strongest competitor for the choice of the committee, namely, the fourth one.

In support of the fifth choice it is said that despite the evident difficulties an all-inclusive consociative system can be developed which could lead to democracy, even in a society which is as deeply divided as that of South Africa. Such a system could then include coalition government, minority veto, proportionality in the distribution of power and the greatest possible devolution.

#### Unfavorable

The committee says that the strongest supporters of such a system are highly skeptical regarding its possibilities. They think in terms of an all-inclusive system and regard anything less than that as a mere appearance--although it is not clear why a bordering consociation which makes possible a broader participation in decision making must be branded as a mirage-consociation.

The committee found that South African circumstances are highly unfavorable for the successful working of a consociation-democracy which includes all groups. Among other things a multiple balance of power between the groups

does not exist; history teaches us that inter-group accommodation has weaknesses; there are sharp socio-economic differences, threats from abroad will not be regarded as a common danger by the various groups and joint loyalties are weak or non-existent.

"Nevertheless this alternative is not being rejected altogether. As a matter of fact the circumstances which favor consociation-democracy are rather conducive as necessary requirements and it still remains possible that such a system could succeed in highly unfavorable circumstances."

According to the committee the prudent line of conduct is evidently to start out by applying the consociative model where it can be expected that this will bring about a more democratic political system--this is what concerns the white, colored and Indian community. If, in accordance with the applicable norms this model succeeds then perhaps other possibilities will arise.

The committee said it could not recommend the sixth alternative.

#### More on Partition

Capetown DIE BURGER in Afrikaans 13 May 82 p 10

[Text] In its report the Constitutional Committee said that it is impossible to intellectually and politically form an idea of a constitutional order of things for whites, coloreds and Indians without taking into view the political future of the blacks.

The committee emphasized that its support for the present official policy with respect to the blacks is limited to the principle of partition and therefore to the direction of the policy. In its support it assumes that this will be a "reasonable" and negotiated partition. The partition must be based on existing black states (homelands) after they have been appropriately consolidated. The partition should thus be multiple rather than singular.

The committee's approach in this respect must be seen against the background of the exciting possibility built into the development of a "confederal" association between South Africa and the black states--a form of association in which governments and community organizations are created for the purpose of managing common matters, but would reserve their final say with respect to what the community organizations could do.

The committee is convinced that it would be disastrous to overlook the reality of clashing interests between whites and blacks. At the same time the committee realizes that these two segments of the population share a great many interests and that their fate is irrevocably bound together.

The black states, or homelands, form an unmistakable part of the South African political reality and it is very improbable that the process by which they were created can be turned around.

In the opinion of the committee the measure by which one group dominates the other will be greatly lessened by multiple partition. Majority government would lead to the replacement of white domination by black domination and undoubtedly to domination and subjugation between the black and non-black and between black and black are to be kept to a minimum, this can be done only through multiple partition.

The committee says that the danger of serious clashes is abated through the policy of autonomous states for the various nations of blacks. It appears that any attempts at a solution based on a single state could lead to violent racial clashes in which every community would suffer terribly.

It is true that the perceptions of interests can change so that interests which clash at one stage need not clash at another stage. In the foreseeable circumstances in South Africa it is hardly probable that the interests of blacks and whites will change to such an extent as to persuade any of the two groups that the essential interests of one will be sufficiently protected and promoted by the other.

A forceful argument in favor of autonomous national states is that they strongly support the individual self-respect of the citizens. Coexistence, which would be controlled by authorities who would be regarded as foreign by some of their members is irreconcilable with the feeling of self-esteem and personal value. In southern Africa this argument holds for the relations between black nations and those between black and non-black. This is an argument in favor of multiple partition.

Culture and identity of individuals and groups is protected in a system of separate national states.

The committee says that the establishment of consociation-democracy is facilitated in South Africa by the development of viable states for black nations. It is clear that the success of this sort of democracy in South Africa depends on relationship of numbers and on the reconcilability between the interests of groups taking part in the consociative system.

"The committee knows well enough that the establishment of black national states does in no way offer a solution for all the political and national problems of the blacks, especially in the major urban centers of the country. In pursuance with the order given to it the committee does not have the responsibility of going into details regarding the constitutional standing of blacks." That is how the report reads.

#### Limited Participation by Urban Blacks

Capetown DIE BURGER in Afrikaans 13 May 82 p 13

[Text] Participation for blacks in metropolitan and/or area administrations which are responsible for providing buld services is being envisaged by two committees which have studied a new order of things of local administration level.



place of provincial councils, will be a part of the first level of government. In accordance with the alternative proposal the provincial councils will remain as second level government.

#### The New Government Arrangement

CENTRAL GOVERNMENT AND  
EXECUTIVE AUTHORITY

MINISTER AND DEPARTMENT FOR LOCAL ADMINISTRATION  
(With Coloreds at least with the rank of deputies)

COORDINATING COUNCIL



DISTRICT ADMINISTRATIONS WITH  
APPOINTED ADMINISTRATORS  
AND  
EXECUTIVE COMMITTEES  
(WHITES, COLOREDS, INDIANS)

OR

ELECTED PROVINCIAL COUNCILS  
WITH ELECTED EXECUTIVE COMMITTEES  
AND  
APPOINTED ADMINISTRATORS  
(WHITES, COLOREDS, INDIANS)



APPOINTED METROPOLITAN OR AREA ADMINISTRATIONS  
(WHITE, COLORED, INDIAN, BLACK)



ELECTED LOCAL ADMINISTRATIONS FOR WHITES, COLOREDS, INDIANS, BLACKS

COMMENTARIES: Schlebusch: 'This Will Change South Africa'

Capetown DIE BURGER in Afrikaans 13 May 82 p 9

[Text] The three reports which the Presidential Council will be discussing in its current meeting will certainly set in motion a process of meaningful constitutional changes whether or not the proposals there will be accepted in their entirety.

This is what Vice President Alwyn Schlebusch, who is the chairman of the council, said yesterday when he opened the fifth meeting of the first session of the council.

Mr Schlebusch said that the most important characteristic of the reports is that it was accepted unanimously by the members of the various committees. This fact presages good things for the future dynamic and meaningful dialogue on matters of utmost importance for the country, especially if one takes into consideration that members of the four committees involved are South Africans of different population groups, political convictions and background.

Several new orders for the Presidential Council are expected. The committees will be busy with this matter for a relatively long time and they will be dedicating their attention to a variety of projects. They will be providing advice to the president on matters of great importance for all racial groups in the country.

#### Labor

Mr Schlebusch gave a summary of the work of each committee since the first meeting of the council in February of last year and he also referred to new tasks for the committees.

The Committee for Community Relations is now engaged in preparatory work affecting the extent and desirability of investigations into labor relations in South Africa. Progress has already been made and the committee has already received some light in this subject from experts in this area.

The Committee on Science should be ready later on this year to present reports on its investigation of the serious and complicated problem of population explosion in the country. The committee has also proposed a possible structure of education for the country and this is contained in the joint report of the Committee for Economic Affairs and the Constitutional Committee regarding local and district administrations.

#### Group Areas

The Constitutional Committee will continue with its study on constitutional adaptations at the first government level while the Committee for Economic Affairs has already begun preparatory work for a study of all discriminating legislation which affects population groups in the matter of their full participation in the economy and the position of the various population groups in the economy.

A report by the Planning Committee and the Committee for Community Relations dealing with principles and application of the Group Areas Act will also be discussed during the present meeting.

A previous order with which the Committee for Community Relations has been active (a study of the problems of proclaiming town areas, shortage of residential premises and delays in sessions) must be suspended in the opinion of the committee, because the Steyn Committee has been appointed by the government. This is what Mr Schlebusch said.

#### Dr. Schlebusch Favors More Voting Power for Proprietors

Capetown DIE BURGER in Afrikaans 13 May 82 p 9

[Text] Bloemfontein--The recommendations of the Presidential Council are not something which can be taken lightly and the council is going to ask that the semi-annual meeting of the Municipal Association in Durban later on this year be extended for the discussion of the proposals. This is what Dr T.G. Schlebusch said. He is honorary chairman of the Associated Municipal Administration of South Africa and honorary chairman of the Cape Province's Municipal Association.

In commenting on the proposals of the Presidential Council Dr Schlebusch said that it must be kept in mind that at this stage these are just recommendations concerning which there will be much speculation and talk. After Parliament and the Cabinet have discussed them there can even be a referendum on them, if necessary, as the prime minister hinted.

With respect to the two alternatives on voting right qualifications proposed by the Presidential Council, Dr Schlebusch said that he is in favor of the second alternative in which owners of real estate property are given more control.

With respect to the separation of "hard" and "soft" services at a local administration he said that these services are the business organization of a local administration. Money earned through this is normally used to subsidize other community services. Separation could lead to the loss of the income.

Still something more which must be held in mind is that a second controlling entity, outside regular municipalities can become very dependent on the income from taxpayers.

#### Unpopular

As for the possible increase in the income of local administrations through levies on business licenses, settlement levies and employment levies, Dr Schlebusch does not feel happy about these. Levies of this nature are always inflationary.

Prices for the regular consumer will be going up as a result of such levies. Inheritance tax is already unpopular and by raising taxes of this nature the unpopularity of local administrations will be heightened.

In a schematic representation of the new order on local administration level the committees have drawn a connecting line between elected black local administrations and area administrations in which whites, coloreds and Indian representatives can also have seats. Representatives of the area administrations are appointed from the elected primary local administrations.

The committees say that it is clear from the opening speech of the state president at the first meeting of the Presidential Council that blacks were not directly included in the first order (the study on local and district administration). However, economic realities and urbanization forced the committees to take cognizance of the question of blacks outside their national states.

#### Successful

In the report there is, therefore, mention of blacks insofar that their participation in the economy forms a part of the problem which local administrations have to cope with. The problems of community councils and administration councils is moreover being studied by the Browne Committee and the Browne report has been referred to the Presidential Council. The committees assume that according to policy the blacks outside of their national states will have liaison with their national states or confederal unit with respect to political rights above local administration level.

The report provides a survey of the historical background and the present setup of local government for blacks. The committees took note of the fact that blacks in urban areas are now quite successfully organized in 228 democratically elected community councils.

#### Clear

The further development of these councils will depend on the availability of black personnel with experience. There is reason to believe that community councils have a better chance to succeed at a local administration level than at any other previous efforts. Because administrative councils must also act as "development councils" in serving community councils it is clear community councils will be having a broader function and greater financial responsibility than the usual local administrations, according to what the report says.

#### A Sketch of Proposed New Government System

Capetown DIE BURGER in Afrikaans 13 May 82 p 9

[Text] In broad outlines the administrative system in South Africa will be looking as shown in the sketch below if the recommendations of the Committee for Economic Affairs and the Constitutional Committee of the Presidential Council are accepted. Two recommendations are being made about the provincial councils. If one of them is accepted and as a result of this the councils will disappear, there will only be a central and local government level because the appointed executive committees which will be taking the

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## Benefit

People must always remember that local administrations are for the benefit of the public and do not exist at the expense of the public. Therefore he feels that business licenses, etc., should not be "unleashed" upon the public either.

In general he feels that the proposals of the Presidential Council are well considered. These will be discussed a lot more and it must be remembered that only some of the proposals will become applicable in the end.

## Economy--The Whites Cannot Do It Alone

Capetown DIE BURGER in Afrikaans 13 May 82 p 19

[Text] South African economy cannot afford the cost of discrimination on the basis of color. This was the statement made yesterday by Mr Basil Landau during the discussion of the Presidential Council's proposal within the council itself. He went on to say:

"We cannot afford to have the burden of the complicated and much demanding economy continue to be borne exclusively by the whites."

"We cannot afford it, because this is a system in which it is not only the labor force and motivation which are being wasted, but also our strategic asset--our economic wealth."

The real debate in South Africa is not so much over votes, but how to allocate shares in a forward looking concern in such a way that everybody involved in the concern will have a rightful share in it, fully contributes to the concern's advancement and shares in its profits.

This view will also be causing concern among certain people--people with short sight who put their own group's interests above those of the country.

"My reply to them is: South Africa can no longer pay the price for the preservation of privileges based on prejudice."

Just as it cannot be expected of the coloreds to fight on the country's borders, if their participation in the government of the country which they are expected to defend is denied, it cannot also be expected of these people to become the whites' allies in the country's economic struggle if they cannot reap a just share of the economic fruits.

Mr Landau said that the system can succeed only if those who are expected to work in partnership to improve the system are able to reap the full fruits of their efforts.

## In Praise of the Report

Capetown DIE BURGER in Afrikaans 13 May 82 p 19

[Article by Jacques van Wyk: "An Extraordinary Meeting on South Africa's Future"]

[Text] The Presidential Council's meeting which began yesterday is an extraordinary one. As early as the invocation, its chairman, Mr Alwyn Schlebusch, called it "historical and direction pointing" and spoke about the creation of a "compassionate structure of authority" for everybody in the country.

One could feel the excitement there and it was not because of the presence of the television cameras brought in to get a glance at this affair and managed to delay the council for several minutes after Mr Schlebusch's opening speech; it was because everybody realized that a great deal is at stake...the country's future itself.

The subject of discussion is the joint report of the Committee for Economic Affairs and of the Constitutional Committee regarding local and district administration in which direct participation for coloreds and Indians in certain matters is being proposed. Several members took part in the debate and one of them was Dr Frank Quint, former chief inspector of colored education.

After a few remarks in faultless English-type English he touched on the recommendations in choice Afrikaans in nearly lyrical terms (he is undoubtedly one of the foremost bilingual persons in the council).

"Why do I again see the sun on the fields and on the soft-blue mountains? It is because the report gives me a great deal of satisfaction."

He thereupon quoted from Psalm 16.6: "For me the measuring lines have fallen on pleasant sites; fair to me indeed is my inheritance."

Mr Chris April, former minister of the Dutch Reformed Mission at George, praised the report as an indication that the Presidential Council is a reform-oriented body. "Any member of the Council who wants to hold on to the status quo ought not be there."

He also provided a lighter moment: "One does not jump around like an old preacher, you stick to one point." His point was direct participation. Thereupon, as the audience laughed, Mr Schlebusch wanted to know whether there should not be three points.

The prevailing impression evidenced in the debate is that great changes are at hand. This must now be channeled in the right direction and this is the aim of the recommendations.

In his opening speech Mr Schlebusch himself said that South Africa does not have space for more than 60 to 70 million people. Even if each couple does not have more than three children, by the year 2025 South Africa could have as many as 64 million people.

According to statistics quoted by Mr Basil Landua, by the year 2000 (in just 18 years) South Africa will have 50 million people. Only 6 million of these will be whites and there will be too few whites to bear the burden of administration.

By that time it is envisaged that the greater number of students at universities will be colored. According to estimates more than two-thirds of business administrators will have to be coloreds if we are to meet the demands of the economy. The coloreds must be trained to fill these positions. South Africa can no longer afford discrimination on the basis of color.

Change is unavoidable; it has always been so. Often surprising, the place where the Presidential Council is now meeting was sea a few decades ago.

#### Synchronization With Offers to Blacks

Capetown DIE BURGER in Afrikaans 13 May 82 p 19

[Text] Whites, coloreds and Indians must realize that a peaceful solution for South Africa will require sacrifices from everybody, but self-determination will not be one of them. This is what Dr Schalk van der Merwe, the chairman of the Committee for Economic Affairs said yesterday in the council.

Dr Van der Merwe introduced the debate on a report about local and district administration which his committee and the Constitutional Committee will be submitting to the government.

The philosophy forming the basis of the report is anchored on the one hand on the preservation of self-determination for each community as long as each community can uphold its own traditions, culture and ways of life. The second anchoring point of this philosophy on which the report stands is a decentralized administrative arrangement. This comes down to the central government's conducting as few functions as possible and concerning itself as little as possible with matters of lower administrations.

#### New Philosophy

According to this approach the central government takes care of the sovereign or order functions, the lower levels of government the welfare functions and the economic institutions the economic functions. This creates the opportunity for each community to maintain its identity, culture and traditions.

The different communities have certain sentiments and political viewpoints which sometimes are far apart from each other. There has to be a new philosophy which can lead to the accommodation of the aspirations of reasonable people and groups.



Dr Van der Merwe said that the constitutional proposals for the accommodation of coloreds and Indians will ultimately have to be synchronized with constitutional offers made to the black people. It is heartening that the government is being active in this matter every day and shows progress.

Each interested group must be involved in a process of negotiations about a new constitution. The report of the committee on local and district administration can be regarded as the beginning of a tradition of negotiation.

#### Government Acceptance, Enactment Urged

Capetown DIE BURGER in Afrikaans 13 May 82 p 19

[Text] If the government accepts the recommendations on local and district administration then domination, which has caused so much bitterness, frustration and even hate, must make room for a new order of things where a joint voice and joint responsibility (through direct representation) will be in order.

The moderate majority is justly looking forward to this. So stated Mr Chris April in the Presidential Council's debate on the recommendations. He appealed to the government to accept the report and to put it into execution in the near future.

The recommendations contain the principles of justness, equal opportunities, equal respect and the protection of whites, coloreds and Asians. This is acceptable to the moderates and certainly feasible. For the first time in the history of South Africa forms of administration on a local and district level have been recommended which can accommodate reasonable and just aspirations of the communities involved.

The aims of the proposals is to give a voice to coloreds and Asians along with the whites in a decision making process on local and district administration levels, as so many of them have pleaded before. What is now being recommended is certainly an excellent beginning. Mr April has made an earnest appeal to all the national groups involved, political parties, and other entities such as the media, churches, student bodies and even to the Broederbond and to the South African Bureau for Racial Relations (and even to Andries Treurnicht--according to an interjection made by Loftly Adams) to take part in the consideration and discussion of the report in a positive spirit and to carry out its recommendations.

Attorney T. Booyens said that perhaps this is the last opportunity to contribute to a stable future for the country. All good governments are based on healthy local administrations. These are the best proposals which can be recommended within the framework of the hard realities of life.

Mr Danie van Rensburg said that urbanization is a matter of the greatest importance for the future. The Presidential Council and the government must give serious attention to the depopulation of rural areas and the question of urbanization.

## White Leadership Still Needed

Capetown DIE BURGER in Afrikaans 13 May 82 p 19

[Text] The constitutional proposals of the Presidential Council imply a broader nationalism at all levels between all the non-black people in which everybody can sing the South African national anthem at a higher pitch. This is what Piet Marais said yesterday in the Presidential Council.

Mr Marais, who took part in the discussion of the proposals for second and third level government, pleaded for the general recognition of the necessity of white leadership in preserving present civilization in the plans of the Presidential Council.

Mr Marais said that this has nothing to do with white mastery, but in a healthy sharing of power white leadership remains a strong determining factor because of its experience and knowledge. He said that the whites must launch the pendulum to the new constitutional order.

He feels uneasy about one of the proposals, namely, the possibility of abolishing the provincial councils. Emotions about the preservation of this system run deep. Although he will be voting in favor of the abolition of the councils himself, as a realist politician he must counsel that the government hold a referendum among the whites on this matter.

### Dispositions

The Presidential Council's proposals must meet two requirements if they are to succeed:

The dispositions of the various population groups must be right. A new constitution is as strong as the dispositions on which it is built. Lately he has observed an encouraging, more flexible attitudes among non-blacks. These people realize that unity cannot be acquired by giving in to unreasonable demands.

The proposals must have an impact so that they can be sold.

### Progressive Party Interested

Capetown DIE BURGER in Afrikaans 13 May 82 p 1

[Text] "The recommendations of the Presidential Council regarding local administrations appear to meet the minimum conditions for giving the coloreds and Asians a say in local administrations and for abandoning the present unacceptable situation."

This was yesterday's reaction by opposition leader Dr Van Zyl Slabbert to the first report of the Presidential Council.

He said that as soon as he studies the recommendations better he will be able to provide more comments on them. This report should be actually studied with the rest of the recommendations on the central government.

The Progressive Federal Party will therefore refrain from issuing hasty statements or to express its final opinion right now so that all the communities and parties will first get the chance to negotiate and consider the best constitutional arrangement which can be made.

Dr Slabbert said that the proposed system will be dependent on the influence such as the future economic situation of the various communities. Much will depend on how the Group Areas Act will be revised and the Presidential Council's recommendations on this matter are still awaited.

Outside of the fact that the urban blacks fall outside the Presidential Council's recommendations he nevertheless welcomes the fact that the report recognizes the necessity of satisfactorily accommodating the urban blacks at the level of local administrations.

#### New Republican Party Agrees

Capetown DIE BURGER in Afrikaans 13 May 82 p 1

[Text] The New Republican Party welcomes seeing its policy getting the approval of the Presidential Council in this first report on local administrations. This is what the Party's leader, Mr Vause Raw, said yesterday.

According to him the recognition of South Africa's plural population as embodied in the maximum control over their own affairs by each of the communities in viable local administrations while metropolitan governments take care of community planning and services, all represent New Republican Party policy--pure and simple.

#### Conservative Party Against Proposal

Capetown DIE BURGER in Afrikaans 13 May 82 p 1

[Text] The Presidential Council's recommendations regarding the local administrations are "shocking: and if they are accepted by the government a very strong reaction can be expected from the Conservative Party. This is what Tom Langly, Conservative Party MP for Waterkloof said last night.

According to him there are irreconcilable views about self-determination and power sharing as a basis in the proposals. The recommendations come right down to power sharing within integrated administrative bodies.

"The recommendations which entail power sharing in the existing system for South Africa are not acceptable to the Conservative Party. These are shocking recommendations and if accepted by the government, then very sharp reactions can be expected from the Conservative Party." So stated Mr Langley.

## Treurnicht Violently Opposed

Capetown DIE BURGER in Afrikaans 13 May 82 p 11

[Text] Johannesburg--If the government will go through with power sharing according to the noises coming out of the proposals before the Presidential Council, South Africa will be facing the greatest confrontation in its history. This is what Dr Andries Treurnicht, the leader of the Conservative Party said yesterday.

He went on to say that the Conservative Party will join the fight with every allowable means available, if the government were to accept certain proposals which come down to mixed government at all three government levels.

He quoted from Calvin's teachings which state that forcing dissimilar races together is the same thing as tyranny.

Booed

He said: "If the government were to accept proposals which come down to forcing together dissimilar people it will unchain a confrontation which, as Prime Minister P.W. Botha himself said will quite properly bring out the animal in the Afrikaner."

About ten students voted against a motion of confidence in Dr Truurnicht. They were booed by others present there.

## Press Leak in the U.S. Causes Embarrassment

Capetown DIE BURGER in Afrikaans 13 May 82 p 1

[Text] Chaos reigned in South African press offices yesterday after certain recommendations of the Presidential Council were leaked out abroad before the appointed time.

A direct consequence of this mistake was that Vice State President Alwyn Schlebusch last night decided that all the reports and recommendations of the various committees of the Presidential Council be issued immediately.

This announcement was made yesterday shortly after the adjournment of the Presidential Council.

South African press workers therefore had to handle a great number of new reports unexpectedly at the eleventh hour and find space for them.

Conflicting

The leakage took place in the U.S. and as of last night it was not clear whether this was attributable to an error on the part of the South African Embassy in Washington or whether it was the U.S. media which disregarded the set time for the announcement.

The original arrangement was that only the report on local and district administrations was to be issued yesterday. The important recommendations regarding first level government and the recommendations about the principles of the Group Areas Act was not to have been put before the Presidential Council until Monday. It was the latter reports which were issued in the U.S. in conflict with the arrangements there.

Evidently Mr Schlebusch had decided that it was unreasonable for the proposals about the central government level and about the Group Areas Act to be made known abroad and not in South Africa. He therefore lifted the time ban of Monday for South Africa.

#### Discussions

Last night Dr Dennis Worrall, chairman of the Constitutional Committee of the Presidential Council confirmed to DIE BURGER that the reports have been issued in the U.S. but he refused to say who was responsible for this.

He decided that the reports in question be tabled at the Presidential Council as early as tomorrow instead of Monday. However, the discussions on this will still not take place until Monday. He called upon the media and other interested parties to refrain from making comments about the report on first-level government until that is discussed in the Presidential Council.

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CSO: 4701/66

OPPOSITION URGES GOVERNMENT TO CONSIDER ITS PEACE PLANS

Capetown DIE BURGER in Afrikaans 6 May 82 p 10

[Text] The personal contact between Prime Minister P. W. Botha and President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia could be the key to a settlement of the South-West problem, according to what Mr Colin Eglin (Progressive Federal Party for Seepunt) said yesterday in Parliament.

During the discussion of the budget item for the Foreign Affairs Department Mr Eglin said that the South African government must use the new contact channel with Africa. Seen as a whole the South-West picture does not appear to be very rosy, but despite the evident setback resulting from SWAPO's rejection of the West's settlement plan a resolution of this problem may be closer than is being realized.

The news from Dar-es-Salaam to the effect that SWAPO has rejected the proposal, and that its attitude is being supported by the governments of the so-called frontier states, is very upsetting. One can only ask what can be done now.

Zambia was also represented at the Dar-es-Salaam meeting which was held after the meeting between President Kaunda and Mr Botha. Perhaps the key to the South-West solution must be found in the personal contacts between the two leaders.

Mr Eglin said that he hopes the Conservative Party will say whether it supports the government in its acceptance of the West's settlement proposals.

Mr Eglin mentioned four principles and he expects that Foreign Minister Pik Botha subscribes to them clearly and publicly. From Mr Botha he expects that in the event that he discovers that a minister, or any department under the minister, violates one of the principles, he (Botha) should demand that the minister involved be expelled from the Cabinet and that if this is not done he should resign himself.

Mr Eglin said that the four principles are:

In the same way that the government expects of other countries to respect its sovereignty and territorial integrity, it should respect other countries in those matters;

The government should doom every effort at destabilization which is conducted from or supported by another country;

The government itself shall not engage in any such efforts at destabilization either through its personnel or through second parties;

The government shall take action against any individual or group in South Africa who tries to use South Africa as a jumping-off place for the destabilization of other countries.

Mr. Andre Fourie (Nationalist Party for Turffontein) asked him: "What are you insinuating?"

7964

CSO: 4701/61

GROUND AND AIR OPERATIONS ACCOUNTS IN NAMIBIA

New Infiltration Order for SWAPO .

Capetown DIE BURGER in Afrikaans 4 May 82 p 13

[Text] Tsumeb--Tracking, hunting and destroying small groups of SWAPO infiltrators in an area of thousands of square kilometers is no small task. This is now an extremely difficult thing even for a formidable combination of army, air force and police forces combination, because of the dense vegetation and mountainous nature of the surroundings. So says Maj Piet Kotzenberg, the air force commander of this town from which most of the hot pursuit operations are carried out.

DIE BURGER recently visited the military base at Tsumeb while pursuit operations were being undertaken mainly for the purpose of finding SWAPO infiltrators who threatened farms in the northern region.

At that moment followup operations were under way in several farms in the vicinity where at least six terrorists were being pursued.

Immediately after new information was received action was undertaken at lightning speed. The terrorists had to be destroyed before they "went underground," meaning, before they dressed in civilian clothes, hid their weapons somewhere and merged among the local black people. Major Kotzenberg said that reportedly among the terrorists it is being said that they even get their "koptiekiet" [sic]. These infiltrators then strike later on when it is not expected. A new method being followed this year by SWAPO infiltrators is to infiltrate a region and to stay there until their specific assignment has been conducted regardless of how long that takes.

Major Kotzenberg said that in the past they have usually come in, struck immediately, and then withdrawn as soon as they could.

This morning, while DIE BURGER was at the base, three terrorists were spotted by chance, a few kilometers from Tsumeb, by an aircraft of the air force engaged in radio activity.

Within minutes the pilot reported that soldiers of the security forces were on their way by helicopters to the place where the infiltrators were



observed. In less than one hour later the announcement came that two of the three terrorists were killed about 28 kilometers northwest of the town and that the security forces were hot on the trail of the third one. It was only a question of minutes before it was all over.

Capt Gerrie Hugo, the information officer of Mech-61 at Tsumeb, said that the beatings gotten by SWAPO in last year's operations and those of the earlier part of this year, have thinned out their numbers a great deal. As a result a large number of the infiltrators are now "green" and unexperienced.

SWAPO calls its bands "special units" and, in April, 10 platoons received orders to go to the South-West. Seven of these were to go to the eastern section of Ovambo and two of them to the west. The 10th platoon has not been observed anywhere as yet.

These platoons are coming from Lubando, Angola, where their headquarters is located and they have been brought down to the border of South-West Africa, where orders are issued to platoon commanders.

The terrorists who destroyed the Ratel troop carrier on 15 April, killing some members of the security forces, had apparently received orders on special targets in the vicinity of the Mangetti block. They were members of two platoons who had then already infiltrated the agricultural areas in the north.

Captain Hugo said that they were equipped considerably better than normally with land mines and weapons and had actually started an intensive mine laying operation. Elements of other platoons might have also been present here and the group could have consisted of 70 terrorists altogether.

They are also armed with RPG-7 rocket launchers and SAM-7 ground to air missiles. After the Ratel was destroyed, SAM-7 missiles were fired at by a helicopter. It appeared that this group fled in a northwest direction and thereafter they set several other ambushes.

At this stage the security forces are intensively engaged in searching and killing groups of terrorists consisting of one, two and three men. More than 50 infiltrators have already been killed in the vicinity of Tsumeb alone.

Operations are also going on in Eastern Ovambo, Western Kavango and in the mountainous region south of Tsumeb which is traditionally a hiding place for the terrorists before they strike.

Major Kotzenberg says that the local black population is collaborating very closely with the security forces and regularly informs us of the presence of SWAPO men.

## The Air Force's Contributions

Capetown DIE BURGER in Afrikaans 4 May 82 p 13

[Text] Ondangwa--Today the South African Air Force is one of the most feared in the world thanks to the quality of its members and their training and also thanks to the lengthy bush warfare in the northern part of the South-West. Deeds which almost border on the superhuman are being performed day after day and month after month by members of South Africa's powerful air punch without which the struggle against terrorism and communism would have been impossible.

The important and necessary role of the air force in the bush warfare is sometimes underestimated. Without the air force the struggle simply could not go on. None of the very successful operations lately undertaken by the armed forces in Angola could have taken place without the air force's share in them.

The air forces provided mobility to the foot soldier. Men are quickly emplaced in fighting positions and even replaced in situations of combat; disabled and wounded soldiers are quickly transported to hospitals and doctors, supplies are transported by air to troops fighting in the bush far away from their base and the rescue of men in danger of dying is made possible.

### Inseparable

Every soldier who has been on patrol deep in the bush, and often in enemy territory, can attest to the kind of moral support they have had in knowing that the air force could have certainly gone there and taken him out if necessary. Many young lives of wounded soldiers, who would have certainly died had they not received immediate medical help, have already been saved through the intervention of air force helicopters which picked up the wounded in the midst of combat, sometimes doing so under heavy attack.

Army and air force action during operations is inseparable--one could not carry on an action with the other.

Recently DIE BURGER visited the operational area to observe the role of the air force in the struggle against terrorism in the war ravaged northern region of the South-West.

### Watching and Risking

A new world of insight has been opened up in talks with people like Brig P. B. (Bossie) Huyser (commander of the Western Air Command), Brig R. (Witkop) Badenhorst (commander of sector 10), Commandant Gerrie Botha (commander of the 44th Squadron), Commandant Bod Hewitson (flight commander of the 28th squadron), Commandant George Snyman (commander of an attack squadron), Commandant H. A. P. Potgieter (commander of the 19th squadron) and many others.

These men and hundreds of others are watching for their lives day after day in the struggle against SWAPO. They do not talk much and often it is very difficult to draw anything out of them. But they are men of deeds, who do

not shirk from risking their lives in order to save those of others...without praises or recompense.

Every one of these men have already faced fire while they were carrying out their task. Many of them have experienced how it feels when on of the dreaded SAM-7 missiles is fired at them; nevertheless, they are not afraid of undertaking another task, just as dangerous, and do so without hesitation.

Commandant Hewitson told us that he has already been involved in practically every operation of the armed forces in the operational area. As a transport pilot it is sometimes necessary for him to transport soldiers and supplies deep inside enemy territory.

Still another veteran of many combats, Commandant Snyman, knows precisely how it feels to be the target of missiles. None of the combat planes in his squadron has been shot down); "this is due mainly to good training and good planning," he assured us.

Commandant Albert Burger (commander of a reconnaissance squadron) knows exactly how vulnerable a pilot can be. In the last several years his men have frequently been under fire.

Commandant Potgieter (the leader of a helicopter squadron) came right out to say that the helicopter pilots of the air force are the best and most experienced in the world. Helicopters are certainly the aircraft which work most closely with the ground forces in an operation. His men are the ones who transport soldiers to operations against enemy targets, transport the wounded, bring supplies to the men in the field and look for lost comrades and bring them back to the base.

#### Tactic

"In my opinion helicopters contribute a great deal in our winning the war against SWAPO and therefore I am proud to be a helicopter pilot," he said.

According to Brigadier Badenhorst two important principles apply for successful action against terrorists: A good information service and collaboration between the army and the air forces. These are a must.

He said that planning is a daily process. The success of combat and of a war is determined by reacting with alacrity upon the information received.

The tactics of the enemy have changed a lot in the past 7 years and therefore the tactics of the security forces must also be continuously adapted to suit the circumstances. As the years passed SWAPO methods improved greatly, but the armed forces have always succeeded in neutralizing them.

Commandant Deom Ferreira, the commander of the 32nd Battallion, which is surely the most successful combat unit in the operational area, said that his unit cannot be engaged in action without the support and help of the air force. During the past 3 years or so his unit, in collaboration with the air force, has already put out of action some 1,800 terrorists.

He added that without the fire support of the air force the task of his men would have been impossible. It is nearly impossible for an armed soldier to pursue a fleeing terrorist on the ground and here the helicopter plays a very important role. The morale of the foot soldier is enormously increased by the knowledge that the air force can pick him up at any place in the bush if he is wounded.

Commandant D. J. (Div) De Villiers (Commander of the Ondangua Airforce Base) said that a great percentage of the air force's aircraft use his base at one stage or another. Therefore, it is not strange that the average workday for everybody in the base lasts about 18 hours.

#### Wounded

Many pilots, such as Commandant Botha and his men of the 44th Squadron, have remained in the air continuously from 8 to 10 hours per day in an operation like Protea...something like 65 to 70 hours in 2 weeks. Food and water supplies have been flown to the fighting soldiers under very difficult circumstances.

Brigadier Huyser said that nothing is spared in bringing a wounded man to a place where he can get medical attention. In addition to pilots risking their lives in bringing the wounded men away from the heat of battle, there is no hesitation in arranging special flights to bring the wounded to hospitals even in South Africa. Recently a large freight aircraft was teamed in to bring one seriously wounded soldier from Ondangua to the 1st Military Hospital in Pretoria.

#### Air Force Tactics Against SWAPO

Capetown DIE BURGER in Afrikaans 4 May 82 p 13

[Text] Ondangua--Pilots of the air force are seeing to it that SWAPO is not ever given a chance to rest...even at night. Terrorist bases are attacked and disrupted in darkness, no matter how well they are dug in.

So stated Maj Dick Lewer (51), a veteran of the Korean war who is heading a group of night attack pilots active in the operational region.

Major Lewer says that his work is never to give SWAPO any rest. At night and at the most unexpected times, SWAPO vehicles are being destroyed and their supplies ruined, and every vehicle of theirs destroyed is of great importance for that movement's war.

A former pilot who took part in the Korean war during the 1950's, Major Lewer is finding an interesting comparison between that war and the present bush warfare. In both wars one side was supported by the Russians.

Just as in the case of Korea, the Russian training being received by SWAPO is rather ineffective. The Russians like doing things on a large scale. They are snowing under SWAPO with impressive weapons and everything appears dreadful, but in reality this is more show than effectiveness.

Among other things Major Lewer took part in last year's Operation Protea. According to him the anti-aircraft fire at Ongiva, which was overrun by the security forces, was just as vicious as that experienced in Korea...still another example that the Russians are taking good care of their SWAPO marionettes.

As a pilot of the citizen force and one of the last in the air force who took part in the Korean war, Major Lewer is very proud to be an attack pilot fulfilling a unique task in warding off terrorist war.

He is now doing the 14th of his operational duty tours and in this one he survived several narrow escapes and on the several occasions he came under vicious fire.

SWAPO's morale is being badly undermined by the night pilots, so he says. One night, at the time of Operation Protea, a number of terrorists surrounded a small group of security forces. They were quite sure of their business and subjected the little group of South Africa soldiers to heavy mortar fire. Then unexpectedly help turned up in the form of those night pilots who, of course, made the situation very favorable for the men who were pinned down.

Major Lewer's attack tactics are alternated frequently and applied as each situation demands.

#### Eye Witness to a Lightning Operation

Capetown DIE BURGER in Afrikaans 4 May 82 p 13

[Text] In a mere 90 minutes time after a patrol of the security forces came in contact with about 40 SWAPO terrorists in a remote region of northwest Ovambo, helicopters of the air force were at the scene with reinforcements and medical aid for the wounded.

A few days ago DIE BURGER was a witness to the ugly face of this long lasting bush warfare in the northern region of the South-West while on a visit to the operational area.

At about 15 kilometers from the border with Angola terrorists led a number of security forces into an ambush. The security forces had to cross a road; thus one section of it began to move over the road, while two of them provided cover. While the section was crossing the road the terrorists unleashed fire on them.

Five members of the security forces were wounded by enemy fire. The terrorists actually took to their heels when the other members of the security forces unleashed their fire on them. In the followup operation three terrorists were killed.

#### In a Split Moment

The contact took place shortly after 8 am on 28 April. The security forces had not yet moved far from the point where they spent the previous night.

Within 90 minutes after the first shots were fired reinforcements and medical help were on the scene. Medical aid was administered right there, while in a split moment fresh soldiers were on the tracks of the fleeing SWAPO band.

Forty minutes later the wounded were safe at the Oshakati Hospital while the pursuit operation was in full swing.

It was a privilege to see the kind of discipline and calmness members of the air force and army maintained in this situation. Everyone knew exactly what he had to do; they wasted no time and lives were thus saved.

#### Food

For these men this was an everyday affair, but for the members of the press it was dumbfounding to see such thorough and effective measures of these hardened men in a real war situation.

Brig. Witkop Badenhorst, the commander of Sector 10, later told the group of pressmen that it is possible that the terrorists came from the other side of the border to look for food; however, it was not their fate to get very far; the security forces were on their tracks too soon.

#### Confounding Those Soviet Missiles

Capetown DIE BURGER in Afrikaans 4 May 82 p 12

[Text] Ondangua--The feared SAM-7 ground to air missile, which is now also being employed by SWAPO terrorists is not really such a formidable weapon as generally accepted. Air force pilots agree unanimously that it is relatively easy to avoid them.

The pilots with whom DIE BURGER spoke at the Ondangua Air Force Base, in the operational area, say that if certain methods are followed, no combat aircraft, reconnaissance plane or helicopter will be hit by the missile.

The SAM-7 missiles, several of which have been fired at air force pilots during operations, follow the heat released by the engines and exhaust systems of the aircraft. It moves extremely fast after launching and no aircraft, no matter how fast, can ordinarily "fly away" from it. Special avoidance methods are therefore necessary.

Commandant Theo Nell, the commander of the air force's command post at Oshakati, says that usually a pilot can see from his aircraft when a missile is being fired at him. A great deal of dust is kicked up by the launching and thereafter the missile heads for the plane in a snow white cloud of smoke. It travels considerably faster than twice the speed of sound and the pilot must therefore play it fast with his avoidance tactics.

He said that the missile has a range of 5,000 meters in the air. The larger missiles, of which there are clear indications that they are deployed in southern Angola, have a considerably greater range.

Commandant George Snyman, the commander of an air force attack squadron, said: "Due to good training and planning the enemy has not been able to shoot down any air force aircraft with that missile."

The methods by which pilots can avoid the missiles remain secret.

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CSO: 4701/54

SWAPO BUILDUP FOR INTENSIFIED ACTION NOTED

Capetown DIE BURGER in Afrikaans 6 May 82 p 8

[Text] Windhoek--The end of the wide range infiltration by SWAPO terrorists on two fronts in the northern district of the South-West is not yet in sight. A SWAPO strong reserve force is evidently just north of the white farming area, according to a spokesman of the Territorial Force.

The security forces are now beginning to attain more success on the north-west front and three more infiltrators were killed in the late afternoon of the day before last at the Amolinda Farm 50 kilometers east of Kamanjab. A large number of terrorists, more than 40 of them, were killed on the eastern front (in the district of Tsumeb, Grootfontein, Kombat and Otavi) since the infiltration began there about 3 weeks ago.

A military spokesman said that two groups of the ten "special units" of the so-called Liberation Army of Namibia which were sent from Lubango in Angola to start the present offensive have been able to infiltrate the area.

"The others have either turned away or are now still waiting in Ovambo/Kavango."

Earlier it was made known that the groups consist of 35 or 40 men each. The senior staff officer (forces utilization) of the Territorial Forces, Brigadier Jan Klopper, described the terrorists as "doughty" and said that some of them have already had more than 10 years experience in bush warfare.

A spokesman of the Territorial Force yesterday said that the security forces are hot on the trail of 10 more terrorists in the vicinity of Kamanjab and Outjo in the north-west while the pursuit of small groups in the district of Otavi, Kombat, Tsumeb and Grootfontein continues.

The fear that on the day before yesterday, the commemoration of the battle of Cassinga of 4 May 1978 (when a large SWAPO base in Angola was destroyed and a thousand men perished) the terrorist might have attempted to do something dramatic, was unnecessary. According to the spokesman of the Territorial Force there were no announcements of sabotage or terrorist actions.

"It appears that the terrorists cannot succeed in carrying out SWAPO's order to spread terror on Cassinga-Day. It can be expected that SWAPO's propaganda machines will take over." This is what the spokesman said.



PARLIAMENTARY DISCUSSIONS ON U.S.-AFRICAN RELATIONS

Capetown DIE BURGER in Afrikaans 6 May 82 p 10

[Text] Why must the accomplishments of the whites be destroyed for the sake of 400 million blacks in Africa? South Africa wants to be of help to Africa if it is allowed to do so, but the West must not ignore Africa's faults while it is so aware of them. This was the view expressed yesterday in Parliament by Dr Willie Kotze (nationalist Party for Parys).

In the course of the discussion of the budget item for the Foreign Affairs Department Dr Kotze said that the West must take note of the true state of affairs in South Africa and look at the rest of Africa as it actually is. The United States will find in South Africa a strong ally in its struggle against Russian expansionism, but then there must be visible and open ties between the two countries.

The United States must now make certain decisions with respect to its ties with South Africa. South Africa wants to protect the mineral wealth of southern Africa and the Cape Sea Route. The United States must associate itself with South Africa openly in the struggle against communist infiltration in Africa.

It must send ships to South African harbors, provide this country with arms and together with South Africa plan on how to resist this incursion.

If the West goes along with communist boycotts against South Africa it will be driving a wedge between South Africa and the rest of the continent. Communist infiltration must be opposed with all the might and South Africa can play a great role in connection with this.

Mr Gert Terblance (Nationalist Party for Bloemfontein-North) said that the creation of the Conservative Party was certainly not viewed as a positive thing abroad; moreover, he does not share Mr Langley's optimism on the future of his party.

Mr Terblanche said that despite the increasing and continuing campaign and threats against South Africa there has been success in improving South Africa's image abroad.

South Africa has succeeded in blunting its opponent's weapons and it has succeeded in attaining great successes in the fields of sport and foreign investments in South Africa. In 1979 foreign investments in South Africa amounted to 22,900 million rand and this attests to the confidence which overseas investors have in South Africa.

Mr Brian Page (New Republican Party for Umhlanga) said that he believes that South Africa needs Africa, but at the same time Africa needs South Africa even more than ever. If South Africa can get back to Africa and show that it has made internal reforms and reached a democratic solution for the South-West it can derive great advantages from that.

The New Republican Party is therefore glad that the prime minister has talked with President Kaunda and it hopes that this is the beginning of more talks of the same nature with African leaders.

Mr Thomas Langley (conservative Party for Waterkloof) said that when someday his party assumes power in South Africa then the differences in policy between the Nationalist Party and the Progressive Federal Party will be the same as the differences which existed between the Reagan and Carter administrations in the United States.

He also wanted to know from Foreign Minister Botha whether the government has a special foreign policy. Mr Langley said that Mr Botha's foreign policy was one of reaction and he believes that it is high time that a more "initiated" foreign policy be followed with respect to Africa and the rest of the world.

According to his view the agenda for the recent consultations between Prime Minister P. W. Botha and President Kaunda of Zambia was compiled by Mr Kaunda and all that the agenda contained was South Africa and the South-West. Moreover, with respect to South Africa it was mainly a matter of negotiations concerning the release of Nelson Mandela.

The Conservative Party believes that this is wrong. If South Africa was on the list of agenda, then Zambia should have been there also, Mr Langley said.

To this Nationalist Party members reacted by asking him: "What do you know about the agenda...You were not there."

Mr Langley said that South Africa must make it clear to Prime Minister Robert Mugabe of Zimbabwe that his public attacks against the republic can no longer be endured and that by so doing he is endangering the preferred trade agreement between South Africa and Zimbabwe.

7964  
CSO: 4701/61

NEW BRITISH AMBASSADOR'S STATEMENTS REGARDED AS CONSONANT

No UK Prescribed Policies

Capetown DIE BURGER in Afrikaans 7 May 82 p 18

[Editorial: "Britain's Interest"]

[Text] Britain's conservative government's viewpoint on South Africa, as interpreted by the new British ambassador, Mr Ewen Fergusson, is adjusted for ensuring the best possible ties between the two countries.

According to Mr Fergusson British policy remains that of encouraging peaceful changes in South Africa. It is not British policy to prescribe to South Africa solutions for its problems.

This is very much in agreement with the policy of the Reagan administration which is being described as "constructive involvement." Both countries are willing to help South Africa by encouraging peaceful change which presupposes that they would like to see some results along the road to reform.

South Africa does not find fault with such an approach. This implies a recognition of South Africa's independence and sovereignty as well as confidence in its ability in resolving its problems in the best possible manner as an independent country. It is not wrong for Britain to show a great interest in South Africa's efforts to overcome its greatest problem--the question of human relations in a multinational country. However, it would have been wrong for Britain to meddle in this difficult process as certain organizations and churches in Britain are wont to do.

South Africa, just like Britain, is desirous of maintaining mutually good trade, cultural and other ties. Counsel and help can be accepted from a good friend, but not prescribed actions or demands. It is good that the Thatcher government realizes this.

Peaceful Change and Solutions

Capetown DIE BURGER in Afrikaans 7 May 82 p 5

[Text] Yesterday, speaking in Capetown, Ewen Fergusson, the new British ambassador to South Africa said that it remains British policy to encourage

peaceful change in South Africa, however, Britain does not intend to prescribe solutions for the republic's problems.

Mr Fergusson, who have audience to a group of journalists in his official residence, said that because of trade, cultural and historic ties and also because of the many British citizens in South Africa, as well as the large British investments here, good relations with the republic are of special importance to Britain.

Britain wants to encourage peaceful change in South Africa, because it believes that the peace and stability of the whole of southern Africa depends on the peaceful solution of the South-West Africa problem and peaceful evolutionary changes in South Africa itself.

However, Britain is not going to prescribe any solutions to South Africa. The right solution for South Africa's problems is the one which will be accepted by South Africa's inhabitants themselves.

He and the British government are waiting with great interest for the recommendations of the Presidential Council and what follows thereafter.

With respect to the meeting between P. W. Botha and President Kaunda, Mr Fergusson stated that the British government welcomes that as a positive step. He believes that it was a valuable meeting and these kinds of meetings are the best way in which one statesman can explain to the other what is of interest to each of them.

After his own meetings with Messrs P. W. Botha and Pik Botha he believes that frank and friendly discussions, about everything that affects both parties, are possible between representatives of South Africa and Britain.

With respect to sport ties Mr Fergusson said that Britain remains bound to the Gleneagles agreement. However, it is not unlawful for British sports personalities to come to South Africa as individual team members, although the British Government would prefer that such sports personalities come here openly and not secretly.

He is aware of revised legislations to make things easier for South Africa's sports people, but he does not know how much can be done to eliminate discrimination in the sports area before discrimination in other areas (such as education) is stopped.

As for the Falkland crisis Mr Fergusson said that a military government which is not exactly known for its concern about its own people has occupied the Falkland Islands illegally.

A system, which they do not want, has now been imposed on 1,800 British citizens who lived on the islands peacefully. UN Resolution 502 unequivocally condemned Argentina as the aggressor and asked for the immediate cessation of hostilities.

## Falklands

Under these circumstances Britain believes that its measures are completely justified...to protect the interests of the inhabitants of the islands and also to show the world that military force must not be used in place of peaceful negotiations.

This is a tragic situation and there must be negotiations to put an end to this dispute; however, such negotiations cannot get underway until Argentina withdraws its forces from the islands.

To a question as to whether there could be a reevaluation of South Africa's role as a Western ally and strategic importance, as a result of the Falkland dispute, Mr Fergusson said that he could not foretell what is going to happen.

South Africa's importance as a strategic area is recognized. However, he is not aware of any plans for greater military collaboration between Britain and South Africa.

With respect to the Seychelle drama Mr Fergusson said that he does not harbor any opinion on that and moreover the matter is sub judice.

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CSO: 4701/56

MIXED FEELINGS IN GKN CONDEMNATION OF SOUTH AFRICA

Capetown DIE BURGER in Afrikaans 7 May 82 p 18

[Article by Ena Jansen: "The GKN's Radical Viewpoint On South Africa"]

[Text] Amsterdam--On 20 April the Reformed Churches of Holland (GKN) came to a synod decision which will have far reaching consequences on the ties with the white Dutch Reformed Church; however, it was in essence an attestation of solidarity with the black population of South Africa.

The 14th meeting of the deputation which has had to prepare a report about the GKN's attitude on the matter "Program to Combat Racism" (PCR), sponsored by the World Council of Churches, also the commentary on this by a committee which will have to evaluate it for the synods, along with tens of amendments on it, two minorities viewpoints from a group of deputies as well as reports by other organizations within the GKN, has come up with a text of nearly 100 pages which tells of the Dutch people's concern over the fate of black people.

Identified Itself

However, the way in which the GKN must give expression to its "deep concern for those who suffer under apartheid," became a critical question which was debated for 8 hours during the recent synod meeting in Lunteren.

As is known the GKN accepted by a two-thirds majority the committee's recommendations (which are more to the point than those of the deputation).

The GKN identified itself with a 1978 appeal by the Dutch Council of Churches to businesses having investments in South Africa to withdraw such investments and liquidate their businesses there.

Most Radical

In addition a request is to be made to the Dutch Government to support the oil boycott against South Africa as promulgated by the UN; there should be moral and financial support to freedom movements (such as the ANC) and that the ties with the black churches, especially with ABRESKA and the Brothers Circle, be strengthened.

The GKN has taken the most radical stand of any other church in Holland especially in the areas of the withdrawal of investments and the oil boycott.

The basic questions discussed were: Can the whites be left out? How can solidarity be attested? Would not a recommendation on disinvestment lead to loss of influence? Is violence admissible in "a country of oppression" such as South Africa?

#### Clinging to an Idea

With respect to outside matters a synod meeting in Holland differs greatly from those in South Africa. Twice a year members of the synod meet at De Blije Wereld, a congress center located in a beautifully wooded area.

There the assertion is made that the Dutch must keep a wary eye for "cults of dialogue" and must not cling to the idea that a discussion with the white church is going to attain something. By a "meaningful silence" Holland must show that a compromise cannot be made all the time.

Reverend Kouwenhoven, for example, took the Dutch Reformed Church to task for not having withdrawn the publication RAS, VOLK EN NASIE (Race, People and Nation) as an official Dutch Reformed Church viewpoint on apartheid; but Professor Plomp advocated the resumption of the talks with the Dutch Reformed Church even though contacts were broken by the South Africans. He pointed out that Dr Beyers Naude had always assured him that the talks must go on.

#### Must Forego

Rev Petro Marais (a South African who has been living in Holland for 15 years) lent his support to the recommendations of the committee entailing the preference for the ANC and for violence. "However, I would find it regrettable if the talks are not also held with those in authority; moreover, Holland must be careful not to measure with different yard sticks when, on the other hand, it is also dealing with migrant workers and such things as El Salvador." According to him the delivering Gospel of God must also continue to reach the whites.

Dr Weiland, the advisor of the synod, said that the GKN must forego "figurative," "vacillating," "symbolical" and "borderline" solidarity and choose unequivocal solidarity. Professor Herman Ridderbos, in referring to a visit in South Africa in 1977 said: "Talk there is like wasting your breath on a rock."

Deputy Dr J. Feddema advocated limited pressure measures (boycotts of South African fruit, sports and tourism) and tried to lend force to his arguments by accusing the synod commission of neo-Marxism and follow-the-crowd thinking. He emphasized that Jesus never said that there is an end to talking.

Rev D. C. Fiet, of the commission, said that his commission cannot be accused of neo-Marxism, because the commission rejects the very idea that a class struggle is going on in South Africa.

Dr A. K. Kruiswijk, the secretary general of the ecumenical deputation abroad, pleaded for a new dialogue with the white Dutch Reformed Church on condition that the black coreligionists desire this.

Upon the conclusion of the synodial resolution he was disappointed that those attending the synod adopted such a strong stand. According to him, in mutual discussions, the GKN always cut short of violence with whites. For example he referred to the 1979 visit to Holland by six professors and two members of the executive church council. When the South Africans evidently recognized how much profit they derived in talking over matters like structural coaction and the Broederbond in Holland--matters which could be discussed "much louder" than was previously possible in South Africa.

Finally Reverend Fiet's commission had the last and final say. It came out saying that it was remarkable that some synod participants were so eager to stay away from the topic of violence. "When the talks are about the problem of violence, we always think of black counter-violence."

What Is Left for GKN

He called attention to "white structural violence" being practiced every day and said: "Is it right to blame the black people, while the whites, like a heavily armed Goliath, do nothing else but practice violence? White violence is no small matter; it is economic, police type and legislative."

The way still left open for the GKN for applying pressure on the white coreligionists is through a couple of ecumenical organizations, of which the Dutch Reformed Church is still a member, such as the Reformed Ecumenical Synods and the World Alliance of reformed churches. The latter is holding a meeting in Ottawa, Canada, during August. The GKN will at that time try to get the assembly there to speak out against apartheid.

7964

CSO: 4701/58



'RAND DAILY MAIL' DISCUSSES LOCAL AUTHORITIES BILL

MB080830 Johannesburg RAND DAILY MAIL in English 8 Jun 82 p 8

[Editorial: "Progress at Local Level?"]

[Text] Accepting that the black local authorities bill is set inside the framework of apartheid, it does offer the prospect of progress. Among its basic features is acknowledgement of the permanence of blacks in the cities: the bill does this by allowing local voting rights for those who have lived legally in urban areas for a specified time of between one to three years.

Of course, many will view it as absurd that a permanence which is so self-evident has to be recognised in law; that may be so, but it cannot be denied that it becomes a matter of consequence when the nationalists get round to doing it.

Then, as the urban foundation has pointed out, what the bill does is to move black local government away from its highly circumscribed role where it has been perceived "as an extension of the government." The bill removes much of the arbitrary ministerial discretion which has existed until now and instead confers what the foundation says is real autonomy--so much so that the legislation is said to be "in virtually all material respects on a par with that which governs the lives of whites at local government level."

While all this is cheering, it remains to be seen whether hopes will be fulfilled that representative people will come forward to take part in the new local authorities, or whether refusal to work within apartheid institutions will again carry the day.

Perhaps the outcome will in part rest on what still needs to be made known: how the black local authorities will be financed. If the government can demonstrate that it has finally also come round to accepting that apartheid black ghettos cannot generate sufficient money internally but must be able to draw on massive external funding, then the proposed local authorities could stand a better chance of gaining popular legitimacy.

CSO: 4700/1336

NATIONALIST PARTY DOMINANCE OF BROADCASTING CORPORATION DENIED

Capetown DIE BURGER in Afrikaans 7 May 82 p 20

[Text] Louis Nel (Nationalist Party Rep. for Pretoria Central) stated yesterday that it can be assumed that the South African Broadcasting Corporation is an independent and autonomous corporation and that the minister is not interfering with the corporation's activities, in view of the fact that despite criticism the Progressive Federal Party cannot produce any evidence of interference.

In the course of the discussion of the budget item for the Foreign Affairs and Information Ministry he asked to know why the Progressive Federal Party is always dragging the armed forces into various matters and making politics out of these.

Correct

Mr Nel was reacting to a speech by Dave Dalling (Progressive Federal Party for Sandton) in which he said that programs about the armed forces have a strong undertone of government policy. He said that the Progressive Federal Party is always arousing a skepticism with respect to the broadcasting corporation and that the corporation does not deserve this. The corporation's news accounts are correct and he believes that its newspapermen are persons of integrity and responsibility in their judgments. The Conservative Party and the Progressive Federal Party cannot complain of having been treated unreasonably by the South African Broadcasting Corporation.

Mr Dalling had said: "The massive military propaganda" over the television is not in the interest of the country. The programs in which the armed forces are involved have a strong undertone of government policy. If the broadcasting corporation keeps on doing this polarization will continue in the country. The corporation must shake off the armed forces from its back.

Mr Dalling also asked that the South African Broadcasting Corporation must be an independent and autonomous entity with a multiracial controlling board in which people of different political views are allowed to serve.

7964

CSO: 4701/61

SOUTH AFRICA

'STAR' EDITOR ON EROSION OF PRESS FREEDOM

Paris AFRICA AFP in English 14 May 82 p 28

[Text] Madrid, May 12--Erosion of press freedom in South Africa "is continuing faster than ever before," though some "last vestiges of freedom of information" still exist, the editor-in-chief of the Johannesburg evening paper The Star, Harvey Tyson, told the general assembly of the International Press Institute (IPI) here on Tuesday.

"In the land of apartheid there are shifting shades and nothing is simply black or white," Mr Tyson commented. "South Africa is not a democracy, nor is it yet a police state. The press is not free, but nor is it servile."

Mr Tyson said the Pretoria Government had not hesitated "to act ruthlessly" against the fringe press" of student papers and major dailies and weeklies serving the black community, "but it has always stopped short of direct, effective press censorship."

There were "somewhat sinister" press laws, but the report of the Government-appointed Steyn Commission proposing new limitations had been shelved because it went too far, the editor said.

A paradox was that the Government needed the influence of a moderate press to combat the excesses of the extremist sectors of the Afrikaans-language press, Mr Tyson noted.

He said that anti-press legislation "may be getting worse, but on the other hand the powers that be in Pretoria are in most instances growing more benign." (A.F.P.)

CSO: 4700/1266

MINISTER ADVOCATES DARING POLICY WITHOUT PRIOR GUARANTEES

Capetown DIE BURGER in Afrikaans 8 May 82 p 3

[Text] Potchefstroom--Mr F. W. de Klerk, the Mineral and Energy Affairs minister and leader of the Nationalist Party in Transvaal, while speaking here yesterday said that South Africa, in the pioneer spirit of its forefathers, must have the courage of its convictions to undertake the initiative with respect to its unresolved problems even without absolute guarantees.

"If we do nothing and try nothing without prior guarantees, we will definitely not resolve our problems and to be sure they will become all the more irresolvable." This is what Mr de Klerk said yesterday afternoon when he appeared as the main speaker at the graduation ceremony of the Potchefstroom University.

He went on to say that in the midst of all the expectations prevailing in the country at this moment he longs for the authoritative voice of Potchefstroom, rising above individual views, to clearly affix its imprint on important questions of this day. He said that too much aloofness foments confusion.

In the field of policy people go on hoping that the government's initiative will bear fruits, that the Presidential Council will find an acceptable formula with respect to whites, coloreds and Asians, that a confederation of states will succeed and that all this will offer the key to a peaceful coexistence.

Cancer

But at the same time we are struggling with the apprehension over the overwhelming numbers of blacks, the unwillingness to collaborate on the part of too many coloreds and the rapid spread of terrorism.

"This sort of despair is like a cancer devouring our will to succeed and undermining our dedication to find a peaceful solution. All too many whites, blacks, coloreds and Asians are leaning toward radicalism and extremism."

To be able to overcome the dilemma of tension between hope and anxiety there are some necessary guidelines to be followed if hopes are to be built and the anxiety over polarization and bloody confrontation is to be combatted.

Mr de Klerk said that everybody in the country must scale down their hopes and expectations to what is attainable. The coloreds must realize that gaining complete political rights, at the cost of established white rights and security, cannot be obtained without white resistance to the death.

"Likewise white South Africans must know that the preservation of their freedom and self-determination cannot be built upon the continued and lasting subordination of people of color."

Complete separation of the various people and national groups in watertight compartments cannot be attained, but their association within a single political system is also unattainable. Purposeful collaboration is no more attainable if built upon concealed domination of one group over the other or as blatant superiority."

"Another guideline is the need for urgent attention which must be given to the socio-economic backwardness of the black people and other national groups. This is so self-evident that there is no need to discuss it...and yet politicians regularly hear people say that too much is being done for the blacks.

#### Appeal

In connection with this he is making an appeal to opinion formers (and especially to Potchefstroom) to lend a helping hand with the process of informing and persuading people. In addition everyone must, in his own sphere of life, become visibly and actually involved in actions aimed at improving the living standard of everybody.

Mr de Klerk said that the third guideline is to create good dispositions by means of effective communication and clear leadership. He recognizes that there are faults in the communication between political leaders and the voting public and said that improving this is a high priority for the government.

#### The Good Peace

He also wants to address constructive criticism to Potchefstroom: "There was a time when Potchefstroom's voice was heard more distinctly and clearer and it had a more noticeable influence in the course of affairs. Now he misses this authoritative voice of Potchefstroom. Too much aloofness is promoting confusion and swirling in counterfulfillment of purposes."

Sometimes people also get the impression that Afrikaans cultural organizations and churches are inclined to avoid clear viewpoints for the sake of the good peace. He does not advocate that universities, cultural organizations or the church must get involved in politics; however, they must, on the basis of the sovereignty they have in their own sphere, provide clear leadership in material matters.

Mr de Klerk said that "the fourth guideline" is that "we must have the courage of our convictions to undertake the initiative with regard to our unresolved problems and do so without absolute guarantees."

## Old Formulas

There are, of course, great dangers and risks in these circumstances, but he is sure of one thing: "If we do nothing or try nothing without prior guarantees we will certainly not resolve our problems. To be sure they will become all the more irresolvable."

Mr de Klerk also said: "We do not have to stick to old formulas which are not adaptable to today's realities. Within the framework of our firm and responsible principles we must begin a renewing and reforming political program of action which offers workable answers to the demands of our time."

7964

CSO: 4701/59

DANGER OF WEST'S REDUCTION OF NAVAL FORCES HIGHLIGHTED

Capetown DIE BURGER in Afrikaans 10 May 82 p 11

[Text] It remains to be seen whether the Western countries have the courage, wisdom and insight to get to work with all speed to preserve the freedom of the world's sea routes. The freedom of Western powers to expand their naval forces is perhaps being limited by shortsighted individuals and political pressure groups.

This was the opinion expressed by the chief of the armed forces, Gen Constand Viljoen, in his opening speech at the conference of maritime strategy presented by the Institute for Strategic Studies of the University of Pretoria. The written address of General Viljoen was read out, in his absence, by the chief of the navy, Vice Admiral Ronnie Edwards.

If the Western powers do agree on forming an alliance their collaboration may end up in failure; or they can ignore their vulnerability and allow a steady erosion of their security to take place. If this were the case the threat against the West's freedom, which has already been predicted for so long, will become a reality.

Referring to the situation on the Falkland Islands General Viljoen said that the crisis has shown, as no other event in the past, that maritime strategy forms a very important part of a country's military possibilities.

Although it is no pleasure for South Africa to see two Western powers in a potentially serious conflict from which only Russia can profit, it is all the same good to see how a reevaluation of naval strategy is already taking place among the big Western powers.

As far as the Cape Sea Route is concerned General Viljoen said that the present situation, in which South Africa alone is responsible for its protection, is not a situation which arose through out country's own doing.

This is the outcome of the Western naval powers leaving the responsibility to South Africa alone and of the arms boycott, against this country, which is preventing the performance of an effective job.

"In the past South Africa has on more than one occasion stated willingness to share the defense of the Cape Sea Route with others, provided that it would not have to be done alone and the country would be allowed to purchase the suitable ships for this purpose."

#### Nuclear Missiles

Three reasons can be singled out for the present neglect of naval strategy; these are military, economic and political reasons.

There has been a definite tendency among military experts to be of the opinion that long-range nuclear missiles would make conventional naval forces irrelevant, especially due to the high cost. Britain, for example, has gotten rid of most of its large warships, aircraft carriers and attack vessels to make room for small, speedy submarines. The argument is being presented that if Russia, for example, would try to sink any ship on the Cape Sea Route, nuclear missiles would soon start flying making a naval war unnecessary. One other argument is that if Russia wants to cut off oil shipments, most of which go around the Cape, it would be able to do so easier by destroying the oil supplies in the Middle East.

Now the world is looking at Britain's search for enough ships and trying to rent the aircraft carriers it had already sold, now that the Falkland crisis is confronting it.

#### Expanded

General Viljoen said that economic reasons have contributed to a considerable reduction of Western naval forces. In an effort to cut costs in these inflationary times governments have decided to limit the building and purchasing of terribly expensive aircraft carriers, cruisers and attack vessels. These shortsighted efforts to cut down can again have an aftereffect in the future.

He pointed out that almost without exception Western naval forces have been perceptibly reduced, while the Russian fleet of Admiral Gorshkov has been greatly expanded in all the oceans.

By the end of 1968 there were 951 ships in the U. S. Navy and 8 years later this number dropped to 496--the lowest since 1939. As far as Britain is concerned the reduction was even more dramatic. In 1960 there were 8 aircraft carriers, 10 cruisers and 152 attack vessels and frigates in the British fleet. Today the number of operational vessels is 42, according to him.

7964

CSO: 4701/57



POLICE VISIT NEWSPAPERS IN POSSIBLE SEYCHELLE COUP TRY

Capetown DIE BURGER in Afrikaans 8 May 82 p 3

[Text] Johannesburg--Yesterday the police paid a visit to three newspapers in Johannesburg presumably in connection with the alleged violation of the Official Secrets Act stemming from reports on the unsuccessful Seychelle coup t'etat.

The newspapers are: RAPPORT, SUNDAY TIMES and RAND DAILY MAIL. As far as can be determined the offices of Mr Eddie Botha of RAPPORT and of Mr Eugene Hugo of RAND DAILY MAIL were searched.

The chief of the police's Commercial Branch, Brig Theo Scherman, confirmed to BEELD (DIE BURGER's sister newspaper) that he did visit the offices of the SUNDAY TIMES and the RAND DAILY MAIL, but did not wish to provide further details except to say that no documents were removed. The two newspapers are housed in the same building in Johannesburg. Mr Hugo was not in Johannesburg yesterday, but in Pietmaritzburg where he was preparing a report on the skyjacking trial.

In answer to the question as to who instituted the charges that led to the investigation, Brigadier Scherman said it was Niel Barnard, the director general of the National Intelligence Service, according to a report by SAPA.

It has been learned that RAPPORT was visited by a lieutenant colonel and a couple of other men. After Mr Botha's office was searched thoroughly, several annotations were confiscated, but a receipt was given for these.

The editor of RAPPORT, Mr Sakkie Perold, confirmed yesterday that the police did visit RAPPORT, but he made no further statements. Official spokesmen for SUNDAY TIMES and RAND DAILY MAIL gave no details.

7964  
CSO: 4701/59

## LABOR DISPUTES, STRIKES IN APRIL REPORTED

Braamfontein IIR INFORMATION SHEET in English Apr 82 pp 19-22

[Text]

COMPANY	ISSUE	NUMBER OF WORKERS INVOLVED	DURATION	AREA	SEQUEL	DATE
1. Moser Hardchrome Plating Factory	Dismissal of colleagues.	± 160	Ongoing	Wadeville (Germiston)	Ongoing	16/4/1982 Citizen
2. Mazza	Wages.	-	4 weeks	Durban (Verulam)	Settlement reached.	21/4/1982 Citizen
3. Nampak Corrugated Containers	Wages and improvement of working conditions.	± 350	1 week	Transvaal	Workers returned to work. Negotiations to solve grievances ongoing.	21/4/1982 Sowetan
4. Screenex	Wages	± 200	Ongoing	Alrode	Ongoing. Workers are represented by the Metal and Allied Workers' Union (MANU)	21/4/1982 Sowetan
5. Henkel	Dismissal of striking workers.	100	5 weeks	Durban	Dismissed workers re-instated	22/4/1982 Sowetan
6. Fry's Metals	Wages	130	-	Wadeville	Workers returned to work after being awarded an extra bonus.	22/4/1982 RDM

COMPANY	ISSUE	NUMBER OF WORKERS INVOLVED	DURATION	AREA	SEQUEL	DATE
7. Volkswagen	Retrenchment of 316 colleagues.	5 600	1 day	Uitenhage	Management rejected the demands formulated by the National Automobile and Allied Workers' Union. Striking workers will be selectively re-employed.  The Company said it was satisfied there had been no cases of unfair dismissal or retrenchments.  On 29/4/1982 all workers walked out again after reaffirming their demands.	23/4/1982 Daily Dispatch
8. Amalgamated Press	Recognition of Commercial, Catering and Allied Workers' Union of South Africa; wages, overtime, dismissals and non-payment on Easter Friday.	± 40	1 day	Benoni	Management agreed to workers' demands after negotiations with union officials	23/4/1982 RDM
9. Almac Engineering	Wages.	± 80	Ongoing	Industria	Ongoing.	23/4/1982 Sowetan
10. Fiekser	Retrenchment of colleagues	-	1 week	Wadeville	Workers dismissed and management to re-employ workers selectively.	25/4/1982 RDM
11. Winkelhaak Gold Mine	Shifts and wages.	± 500	1 day	Evander	Workers returned to work following negotiations between representatives and management.	26/4/1982 Citizen

COMPANY	ISSUE	NUMBER OF WORKERS INVOLVED	DURATION	AREA	SEQUEL	DATE
12. National String	Dismissal of a colleague.	± 300	1 week	Wadeville	Striking workers dismissed and ignored an opportunity to be re-employed.	27/4/1982 Sowetan 23/4/1982 Citizen
13. Haggie Rand Group (Jupiter Plant)	Wages.	±1 700	2 days	Cleveland	Workers returned to work following negotiations between management and MAWU. As a result of the strike workers have been signing up as MAWU members. Management has welcomed this as a channel for airing grievances.	29/4/1982 Star 30/4/1982 Citizen
14. Ninian and Lester	A spokesman for the National Union of Textile Workers' listed the issues as follows: - Postponement of wage negotiations - Delays arising out of procedural clauses for union recognition - Dismissal of colleagues	500	Ongoing	Pinetown	Strike settled after management had agreed a procedural agreement with the union.	27/4/1982 Citizen
15. Asea Electric	Dismissal of a colleague	± 900	2 days	Rosslyn (Pretoria)	Workers returned to work.	27/4/1982 Star

COMPANY	ISSUE	NUMBER OF WORKERS INVOLVED	DURATION	AREA	SEQUEL	DATE
16. Scaw Metals	Wages.	2 800	Ongoing	Germiston	Negotiations between management and MAWU deadlocked. Management said it would not meet workers' demands for a wage increase while wage talks in the metal industries industrial council were in progress. 2800 strikers fired but told they could have jobs back if they re-applied in the morning	28/4/1982 Star  30/4/1982 Citizen  30/4/1982 RDM
17. Moseer	Wages.	± 60	1 week	East Rand	Striking workers dismissed. MAWU was refused a chance to negotiate with management.	27/4/1982 Sowetan
18. Defy	Wages.	± 480	± ½ day	Benoni (East Rand)	MAWU and management in discussions over wages and returned to work.	30/4/1982 Sowetan
19. Metal and Chemical Industries	Wages.	± 200	1 day		Management said workers dismissed "themselves" after refusing to return to work on 29 April 1982. Workers who reapplied before noon would be considered for re-employment.	30/4/1982 Star

IMPLICATIONS OF INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS', CHANGES NOTED

Braamfontein IIR INFORMATION SHEET in English Apr 82 pp 1, 2

[Editorial]

[Text]

The word 'change' is one used with increasing frequency in discussions on South African industrial relations, but one which unfortunately seems to remain something of an empty concept to many in the field. A number of recent trends and events indicate that the process of change is actually well underway, and that employers must give serious consideration to its implications if they are to adapt effectively over the next few years. Recent issues which have an important bearing on labour relations include: the anticipated downturn in the economy; the rapid growth of 'emergent' unions; extensions of call up duties and deadlocks in wage negotiations.

The economy is slowing down although there is debate as to what extent this is occurring. Stellenbosch University's Bureau for Economic Research has predicted the economy will remain on a downturn for the remainder of the year with an anticipated real growth rate of 1% (4,7% in 1981) (Financial Mail 16 April 1982). A recent survey of 1 200 companies in 30 commercial and industrial sectors by Manpower International indicated a drop in the demand for labour, although few employers expected to lay off workers during the next 3 months. (Financial Mail 9 April 1982). Interestingly, Mr Horwood introducing the 1982/3 budget stated that the 1978-81 boom period had slowed to a considerable extent owing to physical constraints such as the shortage of skilled and semi-skilled labour. In view of this it is not surprising that some measure of priority was given to the manpower and education votes. Events such as the official opening of the Mangosuthu Technikon for Blacks and the growth in the number of registered Black apprentices lead one to believe that serious efforts are being made to remove such 'physical constraints'.

At the same time however, measures such as the new extension of call ups have the potential to inhibit maximum manpower usage in industry and thus progress in the economy. Not only this but companies are likely to find themselves in some dilemmas over the issue. Economic and 'moral' demands are in the direction of Black training and induction into the world of work

as skilled manpower. Military and political demands are in the direction of increasing periods 'in uniform' by Whites. These demands are not likely to be compatible. Indications in some quarters are that there is resistance by Whites to growing numbers of Black apprentices - and this is likely to be aggravated by increasing call-up periods, which Blacks will not have to perform. In a recent informal discussion, an Industrial Relations Department official in Zimbabwe pointed out that one of the paradoxes of extended call-ups for Whites in the country's war, was the opportunities it created for Blacks to attain skills. Businessmen faced with problems of survival with White males in uniform for up to 6 months of the year, found it necessary to train Blacks. The paradox - the more time Whites spent 'in the bush' 'protecting' their positions the more opportunities it provided for those whose participation they were resisting (and who had no military duties). Here then is a potential new problem in industrial relations - the reconciliation of White fears with programmes of Black advancement, compounded by 'discriminatory' call up duties. Questions over equal opportunities, responsibilities, etc., are beginning to be raised in quarters other than Black ones!

Another issue which is somewhat surprising in view of a projected downturn in the economy, has been the wage demands registered unions have put forward in industrial council negotiations. It might have been expected that trade unions would have been more concerned with job security for their members, than negotiating higher wages, in the face of a possible recession. An interesting hypothesis is that inter-union rivalry over membership is forcing more established unions to approach the negotiation table with 'competitive' stances - to maintain membership in competition with new unions, some of whom are not even participants in the industrial council. This moves us to another interesting dimension to consider in negotiations - the pressures a union is under in terms of its own survival. If one goes with the hypothesis of course, it follows that industrial council negotiations are subject (to an extent) to the influence of unions not even present at the table.

What emerges from a discussion such as this is that changes in the field of industrial relations are moving everyone to courses of action which require decision making beyond what was sufficient in the past. New trends in union growth and influence, removal of discrimination in some areas but not others, the need for the development and maintenance of skilled manpower, increasing military duties and a downturn in the economy all present a multivariant situation which demands complex problem solving at both industry and company levels. As one delegate at a recent course remarked "I knew the times were a'changing - but not that fast!".

#### FOOTNOTES:

1. The Defence budget grew from R44 million in 1960/61, to R257 million in 1970/71 to R2668 million in 1982/83.
2. Of the 800,000 Whites eligible for callups, heaviest demands are likely to be made on the 750 000 aged between 18 and 35 ( $\pm$  40% of the economically active White population).

## BRIEFS

ALL-RACE CONSULTATION REJECTED--Progressive Federal Party [PFP] leader Frederick van Zyl Slabbert says he is disappointed at the rejection of an appeal for all-race consultation on the new constitution. Slabbert made the appeal to allow the Buthelezi Commission to consult with the President's Council at a meeting in Durban last week. Catherine Thompson has details: [begin recording] The state vice-president, Mr Alwyn Schlebusch, yesterday turned down the appeal, saying that neither such consultation nor a joint report were possible under the constitution act. Dr Slabbert said while it was possible to argue against his request on technicalities, a way to allow it could have been found if there had been a will to include Blacks in the constitutional debate. He said the exclusion of Blacks in negotiating a new dispensation held nothing but trouble and vowed the PFP would continue its attempts to broaden the constitutional debate. This is Catherine Thompson for Capital news, Cape Town. [end recording] [Text] [MB040927 Umtata Transkei Capital Radio in English 0800 GMT 4 Jun 82]

STUDENT SOLIDARITY--Cape Town, May 12--Five hundred University of Cape Town (UCT) students yesterday stayed away from classes to attend an "alternative" lecture programme organised by the Students' Representative Council in solidarity with Fort Hare University students who have been boycotting since Monday last week. At the University of the Western Cape (UWC) about 1,000 students held a meeting on campus to show their solidarity with the students at Fort Hare in the Ciskei Bantustan (black homeland). The UCT boycott decision was taken at a meeting of 1,600 students on Monday in response to a call by the Azanian Students' Organisation (AZASO) for a national day of solidarity. (Azania is the black militant name for South Africa). At UWC, students arranged an alternative programme to the usual lectures which included talks on the Bantustans, detentions, poetry reading, singing and a slide tape show on relocation of blacks. A former Fort Hare student addressed the meeting on "repression on black university campuses." (A.F.P.) [Text] [Paris AFRICA AFP in English 14 May 82 p 28]

CSO: 4700/1266



## UGANDA

### BRIEFS

ECONOMIC RECOVERY PLAN--President Obote announced a \$600 million recovery plan, which will be submitted to the World Bank at a conference organized by this institution in Paris in May, Radio Kampala reported on Wednesday, 24 March. Addressing parliament, the Ugandan head of state said that this 3-year plan (1982-1984) has in view 80 priority projects in the fields of agriculture, industry and communications, among others. [Text] [Paris LE MONDE in French 26 Mar 82 p 4] 9380

CSO: 4719/831

COMMENTARY ON FALKLANDS ISLANDS CRISIS

AB031305 Kinshasa AZAP in French 0750 GMT 3 Jun 82

[AZAP Commentary: "Other Malvinas in View"]

[Text] Kinshasa, 3 Jun (AZAP)--One fine morning in May 1982, the world suddenly began to experience the Malvinas crisis. What do the Malvinas represent? A few leeward desert islands in the South Atlantic region, which a hundred years ago were the site of strange colonial adventurers. Today, 16,000 men are fighting furiously for ownership of these cold and unforgiving islands.

The belligerents are not short of arguments. One side--the British--is counting on the rule of international law, while the other--Argentina--is expressing its feeling of nationalism which it claims has been encroached upon for a long time by the occupier. This is the crux of the problem.

But as Mrs Kamanda Wa Kamanda, our representative at the United Nations, said last week at the Security Council meeting concerning the Falkland Islands--an English name for the Malvinas--"What the world wants to know is the real meaning of this war.

"Is it law which is being questioned or dignity; honor or interests? The origin of certain crisis situations today, or tomorrow, take their roots from the dawn of time; and undoubtedly too in the conquests of past centuries. But today, these situations can only be redressed by positive international law.

"Situations resulting from conquests are not necessarily equitable and that is why the international community, through the United Nations, has established rules and procedures for the settlement of problems of such nature."

The Zairian spokesman at the United Nations could not have said it better than this, but alas, wisdom was unable to reconcile the positions of the belligerents who preferred to settle their conflict through the use of arms.

Today or tomorrow, Port Stanley will fall. Winners and losers will have to pay dearly for the last act of this litigation. But after the Malvinas,

will that be the end? No. Certainly a page will be closed but another one has been opened.

In fact, other Malvinas', which will appear by a kind of osmosis, are waiting for their turn to claim their allotments of blood, when bullets are thought to be the best means to claim one's rights.

At any rate, it is necessary to wait and expect that the anachronism of some territorial situations which cannot be justified these days will hit the headlines during this decade and stir up tension between the East and the West.

On this specific topic, the cold war has something to feed on unless the rise in nationalism with which the Malvinas affair began attracts followers elsewhere or gives food for thought in some capitals where the effects of conflagrations are dreaded.

CSO: 4719/1033

ZAIRE

BRIEFS

EMBASSY MOVE DENIED--Cairo, 3 Jun (MENA)--Zairian Ambassador to Egypt Atembina Te Mbombo has denied rumors that his country will transfer its embassy from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem, emphasizing that this matter is out of the question and that the Zairian Embassy will remain in Tel Aviv. On the resumption of his country's relations with Israel, he said that Zaire severed its relations with Israel in solidarity with Egypt, which is an African state, because part of its territory was occupied. But since Egypt and Israel have concluded a peace agreement according to which Egypt has regained its territories, Zaire thought of resuming its relations with Israel. Atembina Te Mbombo affirmed that Zaire's restoration of its relations with Israel was not meant to offend Arab friends but was tantamount to an encouragement of Israel to take similar steps in relation to the rest of the occupied territories. Meanwhile, the Zairian ambassador in Cairo emphasized that his country supports the Palestinian people and their legitimate demand of their right to self-determination and to the establishment of a state for themselves. Zaire also recognizes the PLO as the legitimate representative of the Palestinian people. [Text] [NC030859 Cairo MENA in Arabic 0830 GMT 3 Jun 82]

MPR MEMBERS; MILITARY SERVICE--The Central Committee of the MPR (Popular Movement of the Revolution, the sole party) announced on Wednesday, 24 March, the exclusion and "arrest" of 11 of its members "for serious breach of party discipline and ideals." Among them are Lokwa Ilwaloma, former general director of the National Pedagogical Institute, accused of misappropriation of funds. The committee also announced that Zairian students will henceforth have to do 1 year of military service on their campuses while pursuing their studies. [Text] [Paris LE MONDE in French 26 March 82 p 4] 9380

CSO: 4719/831

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